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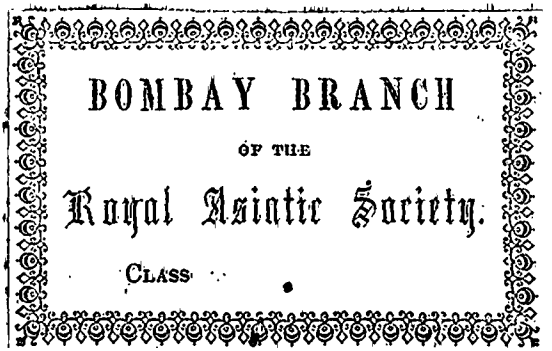

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

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AN INTRODUCTION

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STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,

CRITICAL, EXEGETICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

THE REPUTED AUTHOR.

THE REPUTED author of the third gospel is *Luke*,[1] the name being an abbreviated form of *Lukanus*,[2] in the same manner as *Silas* is formed from *Silvanus*. Paul mentions Luke the beloved physician, who is commonly identified with the evangelist; at least, the fathers generally — Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom — identify them; and most modern critics do the same. Some have even discovered indications of the writer's profession in the Gospel and Acts; such as the expression *a great fever*, which Galen uses (iv. 38); and a technical term[3] denoting *blindness* (Acts xiii. 11), which is also employed by Galen. But this is doubtful.

Little is known of Luke's history before he became associated with the apostle of the Gentiles. Lardner thinks he was a Jew, for two reasons, neither of which is satisfactory. It is more likely that he was a Gentile, if we may judge from Coloss. iv. 11, 14, where the writer, having saluted certain persons by name, adds

[1] Λουκᾶς. [2] Λουκανός. [3] ἀχλύς.

that they were of the circumcision; separating them from those mentioned afterwards, among whom is Luke. It has been assumed that he was a manumitted slave, probably because the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to educate some of their domestics in the science of medicine, to whom freedom was granted for services performed. But the mere fact of Luke's being a physician, does not imply that he was a manumitted slave.

Nothing is known of his native place, or of the locality in which he resided before he attached himself to Paul. Greswell conjectures that he was a native or inhabitant of Philippi; others prefer Troas. As his name is a Greek one, he was in all probability a Greek; and therefore the inhabitants of his native city were Greeks.

Luke, as is generally believed, attached himself to Paul at Troas, while the latter was on his second missionary journey. We afterwards find him at Philippi. Towards the end of the apostle's third missionary tour, Luke was with him at Troas, Miletus, Tyre, Caesarea, Jerusalem. At Caesarea, where Paul was a prisoner, his faithful friend did not desert him; for although he may not have accompanied him thither, he probably followed (Acts xxiv. 23), and was with him towards the close of his confinement. It is certain that he accompanied him to Rome.

The latter part of Luke's life is involved in obscurity; and the accounts given of it by ecclesiastical writers are neither consistent nor probable. According to Epiphanius, he preached chiefly in Gaul. Isidore of Seville relates that he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, was buried in Bithynia, and that his bones were subsequently conveyed to Constantinople. Some put him in the list of martyrs; others say he died a natural death.

PREFACE OF THE GOSPEL.

Unlike the other evangelists, Luke gives a preface, brief but valuable, from which we learn—

1. The qualifications which the author possessed for writing a gospel. He had traced up all things to their sources *accurately*. He had the gospels of many before him. In addition to these, he had an immediate oral tradition, as his predecessors had. Written and oral sources of the evangelical history were at his disposal. It is not indeed expressly stated in the proem, that Luke drew his materials from the gospels of the many, either wholly or in part. But it is natural to suppose that he would employ them. Why should he not? They must have contained true and valuable matter. As he had traced up everything to its source, he starts from an earlier point than the other synoptists. He had investigated the subject from its origin.

2. The mode in which he proposes to write is stated, viz. *in order*. What kind of order? The most probable answer is, *chronological* order. Such order, however, he has not always followed.

3. Many attempts had been made to fix in writing the oral evangelical tradition, before Luke. These evangelists had even drawn from persons who were 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,' i.e. apostles and disciples. Who they were particularly is not specified.

4. It has been generally supposed since the time of Origen, that blame is implied in the word translated *taken in hand*. But it is doubtful whether it involves censure by itself. Along with the context, it implies dissatisfaction with the writers alluded to. Though they had derived their materials from 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,' and may therefore have

been supposed to write, if not complete, at least accurate and chronological gospels, this evangelist was not satisfied, but wishes to give Theophilus a *truthful* or *credible* gospel.[1] Hence the works of the *many* were not infallibly truthful or credible, in Luke's opinion. The authors had not fully succeeded. They are tacitly charged with failure, both in the contents and form of their gospels.

5. The preface obviously implies that the evangelist was not an original eye-witness. Hence he was not of the seventy disciples. The author of the Dialogue *de recta in Deum fide*, is therefore mistaken in characterising Luke as one of them.

Other deductions from the preface will be noticed hereafter. Meantime we mark in the writer of the third gospel a critical historian, who feels impelled to undertake a gospel which would represent apostolic tradition more faithfully than had been done before. Not satisfied with former digests, he proposes to produce a better one, reaching up to an earlier period, more comprehensive, accurate, chronological, and trustworthy.

SOURCES.

The gospel of Matthew certainly preceded that of Luke. It is therefore probable that the evangelist would use it. But *à priori* reasoning on the point is precarious. Internal evidence should be looked at. And such evidence shows that the first gospel was one source at least whence Luke drew his materials. The resemblance between certain portions of the respective documents could not have been accidental. It is so close and even verbal as to admit of but one explanation, viz. that Luke used either Matthew, or a document which the first evangelist employed. It has been

[1] ἀσφάλεια.

urged against the former hypothesis, that a writer acquainted with a genealogy in which Jesus proceeds from the royal line of David, could hardly have believed in the existence of a better one; but it is not necessary to suppose that Luke thought he could furnish a better. He could give one more accordant with his views of Christianity. In the time of the third evangelist, we suppose that the *Logia-document* had been supplanted by the first gospel, or that it no longer existed in its original state; and it is surely improbable that he would employ it rather than the present Greek Matthew. Holtzmann and others would represent Luke as using the *Logia-document* after the present canonical Matthew had appeared, which is very unlikely, especially when we remember that it existed in a Greek paraphrase enlarged and modified out of its Aramaean state. If we reflect that Luke had a variety of sources or gospels at his command, and that when he wrote the present gospel of Matthew existed, it is natural to think that he would not have neglected the latter altogether, using its base-document instead. The evidences of its employment are few, because he had many documents from which to draw his materials, and occupied a different stand-point from that of the first evangelist. He had other conceptions of Christianity—liberal and Pauline ones. Hence we disapprove of the strong denial which Plitt and Weiss express in relation to Luke's employment of Matthew. If it be conceded that he used the principal source of Matthew's gospel, why should it be thought incredible that he employed the gospel itself, provided it had already appeared? Examples of coincidence between Matthew and Luke are: Luke vii. 22, 23, compared with Matt. xi. 4–6; vii. 28 with Matt. xi. 11; and Luke iii. 7, 8, with Matt. iii. 7–9.

MATTHEW.

Jesus answered, and said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk; the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me (xi. 4, 5, 6.)

Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist, but he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he (xi. 11).

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance. And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham (iii. 7–9).

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first (xii. 43–45).

For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. When Jesus heard he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel (viii. 9, 10).

LUKE.

Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached.

And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me (vii. 22, 23).

For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he (vii. 28).

O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance; and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham (iii. 7, 8).

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest; and finding none he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he cometh, he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first (xi. 24–26).

For I am a man set under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth, and to another Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. When Jesus heard these things he marvelled at him, and turned him about and said to the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel (vii. 8, 9).

This conclusion is confirmed by the discourses and sayings recorded in Luke more than by the actions and events narrated. Though the divergences are numerous in the distribution and plan pursued, as well as the matter itself and its form, it is clear that the first gospel was employed directly by the writer of the third. Thus the sayings of Jesus in Luke vii. 31–35 are closely related to Matt. xi. 16–19, the deviations being inconsiderable. So too in Luke xii. compared with Matt. x. The deviation in xii. 3, 'whatsoever ye *have spoken* in darkness *shall be heard* in the light, and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the house-tops,' finds its explanation in the fact that Christianity had already spread in Luke's time; so that the secret doctrine taught by our Lord to his immediate disciples, referred to in Matt. x. 27, did not appear to suit the advanced state of religion. Luke's horizon is wider than that of the first evangelist who confines himself to the operations of the twelve. He looks at the accomplishment of the words of Jesus on an extended scale because the fact was before his eyes; Matthew's view is restricted.

The first gospel was not the only source which Luke employed, as the word *many* in his proem suggests. He had Jewish documents besides. This is seen in the sermon on the mount. 'Blessed be ye poor; for yours is the kingdom of God,' varies remarkably from Matthew's, 'Blessed are *the poor in spirit*;' reminding one of St. James's expressions, 'Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?' The words in xvii. 4 appear to be taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews; and the history of the resurrection in the third gospel is closely related to that of the same apocryphal document. Both writers used the same source, or one took from the other. In whatever way tradition contributed to the materials of Luke, we see clearly that it was not the Galilean one which

Matthew, followed. Thus the two unimportant events noticed in xiii. 1–4, which happened at Jerusalem, betray a writer who was well acquainted with at least the former of them. And in the narrative of the resurrection, not a word is said of Jesus's appearances in Galilee, though Matt. xxviii. and 1 Cor. xv. imply that he was seen there by many. On the contrary, the disciples were to wait at Jerusalem till the Spirit should be poured out (Luke xxiv. 49).

It is difficult at the present day to determine the nature or number of the documents which Luke employed. Were they comprehensive works such as we now term *gospels*; or were they small collections, detached pieces of history? The former opinion seems to us more probable; though Ewald, who adopts it, assumes too many gospels, Ebionite and Gnostic ones of different kinds. The subject does not admit of a satisfactory explanation. It may perhaps be inferred from a minute survey of the contents, that Luke employed the Gospel according to the Hebrews in one of its early forms, and the so-called Gospel of St. Peter. From them he drew the greater part of his materials relating to the events and actions of Jesus's life. He had not much Galilean tradition at his command; and therefore the ministry of Christ in northern Judea is passed over rapidly. The facts narrated mainly concern southern Judea and Jerusalem.

RELATION OF THE GOSPEL TO THE APOSTLE PAUL.

Luke was the companion of Paul, if not his spiritual son. Hence arose the opinion that the evangelist wrote his gospel under the superintending influence of the apostle—an opinion that existed in the Church at an early period, and was handed down from generation to generation. It is not difficult to account for this indirect derivation of the gospel from Paul. The early

fathers appear to have considered apostolic origin in one form or other necessary to the reception of a work into the canon; and the transition from a disciple of the apostle to the act of writing under apostolic inspection, was natural. Hence Luke's gospel was thought to convey Paul's sentiments.

The tradition respecting the connection between the third gospel and Paul is embodied in the following passages. Irenaeus writes: 'And Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him (Paul).'[1] In another place: 'That Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his fellow-labourer in the gospel is shown by himself,' &c. . . . . 'Thus, the apostles simply, and without envying anyone, handed down to all those things which they themselves had learned from the Lord. So therefore Luke also, without envy to anyone, has handed down to us those things which he had learned from them, as he testifies when he says, "even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word."'[2]

Tertullian says: 'In the first place, we lay it down as a truth, that the evangelic Scriptures have for their authors the apostles, to whom the work of publishing the gospel was committed by the Lord himself. And if it have for authors apostolic men, they are not alone but with apostles and after apostles, since the preaching of the disciples might have been suspected of the charge of a desire of glory, if not supported by the authority of the masters, yea of Christ, who made the apostles

[1] Λουκᾶς δὲ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.—*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 1.

[2] Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo, et coöperarius ejus in evangelio, ipse facit manifestum, etc. . . . . Sic Apostoli simpliciter, et nemini invidentes, quae ipsi a Domino didicerant, haec omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas, nemini invidens, ea quae ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testificatur, dicens: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt verbi. —*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 14, § 1, 2.

masters. . . . Therefore if Luke's instructor himself (Paul) wished to have the authority of his predecessors both for his faith and preaching, how much more may I desire for Luke's gospel, what was necessary for the gospel of his master.'[1]

In another place Tertullian has these words: 'Luke's digest is usually ascribed to Paul. It is easy to take for the master's what the disciples have published.'[2]

Origen writes: 'The third is that according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul,' &c.[3]

The historian Eusebius has: 'And Luke, who was a native of Antioch, and by profession a physician, a companion of Paul for the most part, and who was not slightly acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two books divinely inspired, proofs of the art of healing souls which he got from them. One of these is the gospel, which he professes to have written as they delivered it to him who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, with all of whom he says likewise he had been perfectly acquainted from the beginning. The other book is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed not from what he had heard, but from what he had seen with his own eyes. And it is said that Paul was accustomed to mention the gospel according to him, whenever, speaking as it were of some gospel of his own in his epistles, he says, "according to my gospel."'[4]

[1] Constituimus imprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis, et post apostolos, quoniam praedicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriae studio, si non adsistat illi autoritas magistrorum, imo Christi, qui magistros apostolos fecit. . . . . Igitur si ipse illuminator Lucae (Paulus) autoritatem antecessorum et fidei et praedicationi suae optavit quanto magis eam evangelio Lucae expostulem, quae evangelio magistri ejus fuit necessaria?—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2.

[2] Nam et Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent. Capit magistrorum videri quae discipuli promulgârint.—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

[3] Καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον. —Ap. *Euseb. H. E.* vi. 25.

[4] Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην

This language implies doubt of the current tradition on the part of Eusebius.

Jerome writes: 'Luke, a physician of Antioch, not unskilled in the Hebrew language, as his writings show, a disciple of the apostle Paul, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a gospel, of which the same Paul makes mention, saying, "We have sent with him the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches." . . . Some suppose that whenever Paul in his epistles makes use of the expression *according to my gospel*, he means Luke's writing. It is also supposed that Luke did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the flesh, but also from other apostles, which he likewise declares in the beginning of his gospel, saying, "As they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Therefore he wrote the gospel as he heard it from others.' [1]

The tradition before us rests on a precarious basis. All that Tertullian says is, 'It is the custom to ascribe Luke's digest to Paul.' Probably it arose out of a doctrinal tendency to claim a higher authority for the gospel of a disciple.

ἰατρός· τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονὼς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡμιληκώς, ἧς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς, ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις καταλέλοιπε βιβλίοις· τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, ὃ καὶ χαράξαι μαρτύρεται καθ' ἃ παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησὶν ἐπάνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι· καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν, ἃς οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς παραλαβών, συνετάξατο· φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύειν ὁ Παῦλος εἴωθεν, ὑπηνίκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγε, Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.—H. E. iii. 4.

[1] Lucas, medicus Antiochensis, ut ejus scripta indicant, Graeci sermonis non ignarus fuit, sectator apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus comes. Scripsit evangelium, de quo idem Paulus, Misimus, inquit, cum illo, fratrem cujus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias. . . . . Quidam suspicantur quotiescunque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, juxta evangelium meum, de Lucae significare volumine; et Lucam non solo ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a caeteris apostolis. Quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens: Sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis. Igitur evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit.—*De Viris Illustr.* c. 7.

Luke's preface says nothing about the Pauline origin or sanction of his gospel. He refers to eye-witnesses and others, to the primitive apostles themselves rather than Paul. All acquaintance on his part with Paul is ignored in the proem. He justifies his undertaking simply on the ground that others had preceded him in the same work, and that he had diligently investigated the traditions up to their source. The absence of all allusion to such a man as Paul, tells against the idea of the writer's personal or close acquaintance with him; for we can hardly suppose that he would have omitted a fact favourable to the credibility of his own document. It cannot be shown that Paul superintended the composition of the gospel, or that he dictated any part of it; much less that he wrote it himself, as 'the anonymous Saxon' conjectures.[1] The tradition, ancient as it is, wants a historical foundation.

But while rejecting the earlier view of Paul's personal connection with Luke, either as dictating or superintending his gospel, we admit that the work in question presents remarkable coincidences with Paul's epistles in language and ideas—coincidences which could not have been accidental. The writer must have known and used the Pauline literature.

The account of the last supper strictly accords with that given in the 11th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And there is a Pauline diction in the first two chapters of the gospel, which resembles the epistle to the Romans, chapters ix.–xi. The characteristic terms of these chapters may be found almost wholly in the introductory history and hymns of the gospel.

The following words are common to Luke and the Pauline literature.

Ἀγνοεῖν ix. 45; Acts xiii. 27; xvii. 23. Used very often by Paul. *Ἀγωνίζεσθαι* xiii. 24. With the ex-

[1] Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser und ihr Verhältniss zu einander, p. 251, *et seq.*

ception of John xviii. 36, Paul is the only writer that uses the verb. *Ἄδηλος* xi. 44. Only in 1 Cor. xiv. 8 besides. *Ἀδικία.* *Ἀθετεῖν* vii. 30; x. 16. Used by Paul especially, and in similar combinations, Gal. ii. 21; iii. 15; 1 Thess. iv. 8. *Αἰνεῖν τὸν Θεόν* used by Luke seven times altogether. Twice in the epistle to the Romans. *Αἰσθάνεσθαι* ix. 45, has its correlative *αἴσθησις* in Phil. i. 9. *Αἰφνίδιος* xxi. 34, only in 1 Thess. v. 3. *Αἰχμαλωτίζειν* xxi. 24. Only in Paul. *Ἀκαταστασία* xxi. 9. Only in Paul and James. *Ἀλλά γε* xxiv. 21. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 2. *Ἀλλ' οὐδέ* peculiar to Luke and Paul. *Ἀνάγκη* xiv. 18, used in the same way in 1 Cor. vii. 37; in xxi. 23, used similarly 1 Cor. vii. 26; 2 Cor. vi. 4; xii. 10; 1 Thess. iii. 7; but not elsewhere. *Ἀναζῆν* xv. 24, 32; Rom. vii. 9; xiv. 9; and Revelation. *Ἀνακρίνειν* xxiii. 14 and Acts; ten times in 1 Cor. *Ἀναλύειν* xii. 36; Phil. i. 23. *Ἀναλῶσαι* ix. 54. Only in Gal. v. 15; and 2 Thess. ii. 8 besides. *Ἀναπέμπειν* only in Luke, and Philem. 11. *Ἀνθ' ὧν* i. 20; xii. 3; xix. 44; 2 Thess. ii. 10. *Ἀνόητοι* in the vocative xxiv. 25. Only in Gal. iii. 1 besides. *Ἄνοια* vi. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 9. *Ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι* xiv. 6. Only in Rom. ix. 20 besides. *Ἀνταπόδομα* xiv. 12; occurring only in Rom. xi. 9. So too *ἀνταποδοῦναι* xiv. 14. Only in Hebrews and Paul. *Ἀντικείμενος* xiii. 17; xxi. 15. Only in Paul besides. *Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι* i. 54; Acts; 1 Tim. vi. 2. *Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* i. 48; v. 10; xii. 52; xxii. 69; 2 Cor. v. 16. *Ἀπ' αἰῶνος* i. 70; Acts; Coloss. i. 26; Ephes. iii. 9. *Ἀπελπίζειν* only in Luke vi. 35 and Ephes. iv. 19. *Ἀπειθής* only in Luke i. 17; Acts; and Paul. *Ἀποβῆναι* v. 2; xxi. 13. In Phil. i. 19; and John xxi. 9. *Ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι* of a person xvii. 30. Elsewhere only in 2 Thess. ii. 3, 6, 8. *Ἀποκάλυψις* ii. 32. Comp. Ephes. i. 17. *Ἀποκείμενος* xix. 20. Coloss. i. 5. *Ἀπολογεῖσθαι* twice; Acts; only in Paul besides. *Ἀπολύτρωσις* xxi. 28. Only in Paul and Hebrews. *Ἀρκεῖσθαι* iii. 14; 1 Tim. vi. 8. *Ἀροτριᾶν* only in xvii. 7; and 1 Cor.

ix. 10. Ἀσφάλεια i. 4; Acts; 1 Thess. v. 3. Ἀσώτως xv. 13. Comp. ἀσωτία, Ephes. v. 18; 1 Peter iv. 4. Ἀτενίζειν iv. 20; xxii. 56; Acts; twice besides in Paul. Ἄτοπος xxiii. 41; Acts; 2 Thess. iii. 2. Ἀφιστάναι ii. 37, &c.; Acts; Paul. Ἀφόβως i. 74. Comp. Phil. i. 14; 1 Cor. xvi. 10; Jude 12. Ἄφρον in addressing another, xi. 40; xii. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 36. Βιωτικός xxi. 34; 1 Cor. vi. 3, 4. Βυθίζεσθαι v. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 9. Γε meaning *at least*, xi. 8. Comp. 1 Cor. iv. 8. Γνῶσις i. 77; xi. 52; often in Paul. Δέησις i. 13; ii. 37; Acts; in almost all Paul's epistles. Ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις, v. 33, is Pauline. Δεκτός iv. 19, 24; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Phil. iv. 18. Διαγγέλλειν ix. 60; Acts; Rom. ix. 17. Διαιρεῖν xv. 12. Only in 1 Cor. xii. 11. Διαπορεύεσθαι three times in the gospel; Acts; Rom. xv. 24. Διερμηνεύειν xxiv. 27; Acts; 1 Cor. Δικαίωμα i. 6 and δικαίως xxiii. 41, both Pauline. The Pauline use of δίκαιος is in xviii. 9; xx. 20. Διώκειν intransitive xvii. 23; Phil. iii. 12. Δόγμα ii. 1; Acts; in Paul, and the epistle to the Hebrews. Δοῦναι τόπον xiv. 9. Comp. Rom. xii. 19; Ephes. iv. 27. Δυνάστης i. 52; Acts viii. 27; 1 Tim. vi. 15. Ἐγκακεῖν xviii. 1, a Pauline word. Εἰ καὶ xi. 8; and in Paul. Εἰ μήτι *unless perhaps*, ix. 13; 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Εἶδος iii. 22; ix. 29; in 2 Cor. and 1 Thess. Ἐκδικεῖν xviii. 3, 5; in Paul and the Revelation. Ἐκδίκησις xviii. 7, 8; Acts; in Paul; Hebrews; and 1 Peter besides. Ἐκδιώκειν only in xi. 49 and 1 Thess. ii. 15. Ἐκφεύγειν xxi. 36; Acts. Only in Paul and Hebrews besides. Ἔνδοξος vii. 25; xiii. 17; and in Paul. Ἐνδύσασθαι xxiv. 49 is a Pauline term. Ἐξαποστέλλειν only in the epistle to the Galatians, in addition to the gospel and Acts. Ἐξουθενεῖν xviii. 9; xxiii. 11; in Paul eight or nine times. Ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους xxii. 53. Only in Coloss. i. 13 besides. Ἐξουσιάζειν xxii. 25; 1 Cor. Ἐπαινεῖν xvi. 8. Only in Paul besides. Ἐπαναπαύεσθαι x. 6; Rom. ii. 17. Ἐπιμελεῖσθαι only in Luke and 1 Tim. Ἐπιφαίνειν in Luke and Titus.

Ἐργασία xii. 58; Acts; Ephes. iv. 19. *Εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* in an active sense in Luke and Paul, with a single exception in the latter. *Εὐγενής* xix. 12; Acts; 1 Cor. i. 26. *Εὐδοκία* with the sole exception of Matt. xi. 26, in Luke and Paul only. *Ἐφιστάναι* three times in Paul, in addition to Luke. *Ζωγρεῖν* v. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 26. *Ἤ καί*, comp. Rom. ii. 15; iv. 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 6. *Ἡμέρα Κυρίου* xvii. 24, a Pauline expression. *Ἡσυχάζειν* xiv. 4; xxiii. 56; Acts; 1 Thess. iv. 11. *Ἠχεῖν* xxi. 25; 1 Cor. xiii. 1. *Θυμός wrath*, iv. 28; Acts; in Paul, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. *Ἰδοὺ γάρ* only in 2 Cor. vii. 11 besides Luke. *Κακοῦργος* xxiii. 32, 33, 39; 2 Tim. ii. 9. *Κατάγειν* v. 11; Acts. Only in Rom. x. 6 besides. *Καταισχύνειν* xiii. 17, a Pauline expression, used besides only in 1 Peter ii. 6; iii. 16. *Καταξιοῦν* xx. 35; xxi. 36; Acts; 2 Thess. i. 5. *Καταργεῖν* xiii. 7, a favourite word of Paul's. *Κατευθύνειν* i. 79; in the epistles to the Thessalonians. *Κατέχειν τὸν λόγον* viii. 15. Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 2. *Κατηρτισμένος* vi. 40. Comp. Rom. ix. 22; 1 Cor. i. 10. *Κινδυνεύειν* viii. 23; Acts; 1 Cor. xv. 30. *Κραταιοῦσθαι* i. 80; ii. 40; twice in Paul. *Κυριεύειν* xxii. 25. Only in Paul besides. *Λειτουργία* i. 23; Paul, and the Hebrews. *Μεγαλύνειν to exalt*, i. 46, 58; Acts; in Phil., and 2 Cor. *Μενοῦν γε* xi. 28. Only in Paul besides. *Μεταδιδόναι* iii. 11. Only in Paul. *Νόμος* without the article, ii. 23, 24. Elsewhere only in Paul.

Luke begins a sentence with *νῦν, νῦν δέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, &c.; ii. 29; v. 10, &c., similarly to the Pauline *νῦν δέ, νυνὶ δέ*. *Ὁδὸς εἰρήνης* i. 79. Comp. Rom. iii. 17. *Οἰκονομία* and *οἰκονόμος* often in Luke and Paul, but nowhere else, except 1 Peter iv. 10. *Ὀπτασία* in the gospel and Acts. Only in 2 Cor. xii. 1 besides. *Ὁρίζειν* xxii. 22; Acts; Rom. i. 4; Hebr. iv. 7. *Ὁσιότης* i. 75; Ephes. iv. 24. *Οὐχὶ ἀλλά* only in Paul, besides the gospel. *Ὀψώνιον* iii. 14. Frequent in Paul. *Πανοπλία* xi. 22; Ephes. vi. 11, 13. *Πανουργία*

xx. 23. Only in Paul besides. *Πάντως* iv. 23; Acts. Only in Paul besides. *Πατρία* ii. 4; Acts; Ephes. iii. 15. *Παρά* used comparatively, iii. 13, &c., is especially Pauline. Comp. Rom. xii. 3. *Παράδεισος* xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4. *Παράκλησις* ii. 25; vi. 24, Acts; in Paul alone besides. *Πληροῦν* applied to speech, words, or something spoken, with *τὰ ῥήματα*, vii. 1; with *τὸν λόγον*, Coloss. i. 25; with *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, Rom. xv. 19. *Πληροφορεῖν* i. 1, a Pauline word. *Πλουτεῖν εἴς τινα* xii. 21; Rom. x. 12. *Πνεῦμα* connected with *δύναμις*, is found only in the gospel, Acts, and Paul. *Πραγματεύεσθαι*, xix. 13, has its correlative *πραγματεία*, 2 Tim. ii. 4. *Πράσσειν* is employed by none of the synoptists except Luke. It is in John's gospel, and very often in the Pauline writings. *Πρεσβύτης* i. 18. Only in Paul besides. *Προσδέχεσθαι to receive kindly*, xv. 2; Rom. xvi. 2; Phil. ii. 29. *Κατά πρόσωπον* ii. 31; Acts; is only Pauline. *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν* xx. 21; Gal. ii. 6. *Πυκνά* v. 33; Acts; 1 Tim. v. 23. *Σιγᾶν*, only in Paul besides Luke. *Σκοπεῖν* xi. 35; in Paul only besides. *Σπλάγχνα ἐλέους* i. 78; Coloss. iii. 12; Phil. ii. 1. *Σπουδαίως* vii. 4. Only in Paul besides. *Στρατευόμενος* for *στρατιώτης* iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 4. *συγκαθίζειν* xxii. 55; Ephes. ii. 6. *Συγκλείειν* v. 6; in Paul alone. *Συγχαίρειν* only in Luke and Paul. *Συμπαραγίνεσθαι* xxiii. 48; 2 Tim. iv. 16. *Συμφύεσθαι* viii. 7. The correlate *σύμφυτος* is in Rom. vi. 5. *Συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι* x. 40; Rom. viii. 26. *Συνεσθίειν* xv. 2; Acts. Only in Paul besides. *Σύνεσις* ii. 47. Comp. Ephes. iii. 4; Coloss. i. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 7. *Συνευδοκεῖν* xi. 48. Only in Paul. *Συνοχή* xxi. 25; 2 Cor. ii. 4. *Σωματικός* iii. 22; Coloss. ii. 9; 1 Tim. iv. 8. *Σωτήρ* applied to God, i. 47; ii. 11. So in the pastoral epistles. *Σωτήριος* only in Luke, Ephesians, and Titus. *Τάξις* only in Paul, Luke, and the epistle to the Hebrews. *Τιθέναι θεμέλιον* vi. 48; xiv. 29. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 10. *Τίς οὖν* vii. 42; xx. 15, 17, is Pauline. *Τίὸς* with a substantive in the genitive, as

υἱὸς εἰρήνης, x. 6; or τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, or τοῦ φωτός, xvi. 8; xx. 34; or τῆς ἀναστάσεως, xx. 36, like υἱοὶ φωτός, or ἀπειθείας, Ephes. ii. 2; v. 6. τέκνα φωτός, τέκνα ὀργῆς, Ephes. Ὑποκρίνεσθαι xx. 20. Comp. συνυποκρίνεσθαι, Gal. ii. 13. Ὑπωπιάζειν xviii. 5. Only in 1 Cor. ix. 27, besides. Ὑστέρημα xxi. 4. A Pauline word. Φιλάργυρος xvi. 14; 2 Tim. iii. 2. Φιλονεικία xxii. 24. The correlate φιλόνεικος, 1 Cor. xi. 16. Φόρος xx. 22; xxiii. 2; Rom. xiii. 6, 7. Φρόνησις i. 17; Ephes. i. 8. Φυλακή in the plural, only in Luke and 2 Cor. Χαίρειν ἐν x. 20. Only in Paul. Χαρίζεσθαι only in Luke and Paul. Χάριν ἔχειν xvii. 9; in 1 and 2 Tim.; and the epistle to the Hebrews. Χαριτοῦν i. 28; Ephes. i. 6. The noun χάρις is more frequently used by Luke than the other evangelists, being a distinctive Pauline term. Ψαλμός only in Luke and Paul.

Besides these linguistic similarities there are various parallels consisting of ideas and words together, which unite Luke with the Pauline literature.

LUKE.	PAULINE.
The *gracious words* which proceeded out of his mouth (iv. 22).	Let your *speech* be always *with grace* (Coloss. iv. 6). Let no corrupt *word* proceed out of your mouth but . . . that it may minister *grace* unto the hearers (Ephes. iv. 29).
His word was with power (iv. 32).	My speech was in demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor. ii. 4).
Your Father also is merciful (vi. 36).	The Father of mercies (2 Cor. i. 3). By the mercies of God (Rom. xii. 1).
Can the blind lead the blind? (vi. 39).	And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind (Rom. ii. 19).
Laid the foundation (vi. 48).	I have laid the foundation (1 Cor. iii. 10).
Bring forth fruit with patience (viii. 15).	Being fruitful . . . . unto all patience (Coloss. i. 10, 11).
Is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save (ix. 56).	Hath given for edification, and not destruction (2 Cor. x. 8).
Eat such things as are set before you (x. 8).	Whatsoever is set before you, eat (1 Cor. x. 27).
Your names are written in heaven (x. 20).	Whose names are in the book of life (Phil. iv. 3).

LUKE.	PAULINE.
Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes (x. 21).	I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent (1 Cor. i. 19). God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise (27th verse).
xi. 36.—Same idea as in	Ephes. v. 13.
All things are clean unto you (xi. 41).	Unto the pure all things are pure (Titus i. 15).
I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute (xi. 49).	Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us (1 Thess. ii. 15).
Let your loins be girded about (xii 35).	Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth (Ephes. vi. 14).
Who then is a faithful steward (xii. 42).	Moreover, it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful (1 Cor. iv. 2).
That men ought always to pray, and not to faint (xviii. 1).	Wherefore also we pray always (2 Thess. i. 11). Always labouring fervently for you in prayers (Coloss. iv. 12).
God forbid (xx. 16).	Rom. ix. 14; xi. 11. Gal. iii. 21.
This that is written, the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner. Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken (xx. 17, 18).	As it is written, Behold I lay a stumbling stone and rock of offence (Rom. ix. 33).
For all live unto him (xx. 38).	For whether we live, we live unto the Lord (Rom. xiv. 8).
In patience possess ye your souls (xxi. 19).	To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory, eternal life (Rom. ii. 7).
Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled (xxi. 24).	Blindness is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in (Rom. xi. 25).
Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and that day come upon you unawares (xxi. 34).	Sudden destruction cometh upon them . . . therefore let us be sober (1 Thess. v. 3–8). See Rom. xiii. 11–14.
Watch therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things . . . and to stand before the Son of man (xxi. 36).	Praying always with all prayer and supplication, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication (Ephes. vi. 18). Appear before the judgment-seat of Christ (2 Cor. v. 10).

The full force of this comparison can be felt by those only who examine the original, observing the general style and structure of sentences, as well as the terms and ideas peculiar to both. The mind of the evangelist was impregnated with the views and phraseology of Paul, so that the Pauline literature furnishes numerous affinities.

AUTHORSHIP.

The earliest apostolic fathers have no quotation from the gospel, nor any express allusion to it. One passage in the nineteenth chapter of Barnabas, formerly supposed to refer to Luke vi. 30, is not in the Sinaitic MS. In Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (chapter xiii.), a place resembling Luke vi. 36–38 in some respects differs from it and all the gospel parallels so much, that it seems to have been taken from tradition. In another passage of the forty-sixth chapter the citation from any written gospel is doubtful. Hermas contains no clear allusion to Luke's gospel; and Papias does not seem to have been acquainted with it, since Eusebius never mentions the fact, which he would probably have done. Credner's attempt to show that Papias's language refers to Luke's preface is unsuccessful. The Ignatian epistles show no trace of acquaintance with our gospel. The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians has one passage,[1] 'Remembering what the Lord has taught us, saying, "judge not, and ye shall not be judged; forgive, and ye ye shall be forgiven. Be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy: for with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again,"' in which both Matthew and Luke's gospels may have been used, the former more closely than the latter.

Justin Martyr was familiar with the gospel of Luke, as he was with those of Matthew and Mark, though he never assigns them to these authors. Their contents he quotes freely. The following are the principal passages

[1] In chapter ii.

in which he had respect to the third gospel: 'But the power of God coming upon the Virgin overshadowed her, and caused her to conceive, though still a virgin. Moreover the angel of God who was sent to the Virgin, at that very time saluted her, saying, Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb by the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.'[1] 'Mary the virgin, when the angel Gabriel announced to her that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadow her, wherefore also that holy one born of her is the Son of God, answered: Be it to me according to thy word.'[2] (Compare Luke i. 26–38.)

'The first taxing in Judea being then made in the time of Cyrenius, Joseph had gone up from Nazareth where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, whence he was, to be taxed. For his descent was from the tribe of Judah inhabiting that country.'[3]

'The law and the prophets were till John the Baptist; henceforward the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive him, this is Elias who was to come. He that hath ears to hear let him hear'[4] (Luke xvi. 16,

[1] Δύναμις Θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτὴν καὶ κυοφορῆσαι παρθένον οὖσαν πεποίηκε· καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος Θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτήν, εἰπών· Ἰδοὺ συλλήψει ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ υἱὸς Ὑψίστου κληθήσεται, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—*Apol.* i. 33.

[2] Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν, διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅγιόν ἐστιν Υἱὸς Θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίνατο· Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου.—*Dial.* 100.

[3] Ἀπογραφῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, ἀνηλθλύθει ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ ἔνθα ᾤκει, εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ὅθεν ἦν, ἀπογράψασθαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς κατοικούσης τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην φυλῆς Ἰούδα τὸ γένος ἦν.—*Dial.* 78. See also Apol. i. 34; Luke ii. 2, &c.

[4] ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ· ἐξ ὅτου

and Matt. xi. 13). The first part is from Luke, the rest from Matthew. It is not uncommon in Justin to mix up the words of several evangelists because he quoted from memory.

'When a certain man came to him and said, "Good master," he answered and said, "There is none good save one, that is God, who created all things."[1] "Why callest thou me good? One is good, my Father who is in heaven"'[2] (Luke xviii. 19).

'The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God'[3] (Luke xviii. 27).

'Our Lord said, that they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be equal to angels, being children of God *and* of the resurrection'[4] (Luke xx. 34, &c.).

'The apostles in the memoirs composed by them, which are called gospels, have related that Jesus thus commanded them; that having taken bread and given thanks he said, Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body: and that in like manner having taken the cup and given thanks, he said, This is my blood, and that he distributed to these alone'[5] (Luke xxii. 19, &c.).

The accounts which Justin gives of the prediction

βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν· καὶ εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἠλίας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκουέτω.—Dial. 51.

[1] *Καὶ προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων, Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα. —Apol.* i. 16.

[2] *Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.—Dial.* 101.

[3] *τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρα Θεῷ.—Apol.* i. 19.

[4] *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν, Ὅτι οὔτε γαμήσουσιν οὔτε γαμηθήσονται ἀλλὰ ἰσάγγελοι ἔσονται, τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες.—Dial.* 81.

[5] *οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέτια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. —Apol.* i. 66. Compare also Dial. ch. 41 and 70.

of Christ's sufferings and resurrection coincide very closely with Luke's in their phraseology, and in all the particulars where the other synoptists vary. They also contain what is peculiar to Luke, viz. that the sufferings were a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Hence we infer that he followed the third gospel.[1]

'In the memoirs, which I say were composed by the apostles and those who followed them (it is written), that sweat like drops flowed down (Jesus) while praying, and saying, Let this cup, if it be possible, pass from me'[2] (Luke xxii. 44). While the last part of this passage refers to Matt. xxvi. 39, the former is certainly from Luke.

The context states that Pilate sent Jesus bound, to Herod, a fact given in Luke alone, xxiii. 6, &c. 'Jesus as he gave up his spirit on the cross said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit'[3] (Luke xxiii. 46).

It is possible that some of these passages may have been taken from an apocryphal gospel, for it is highly probable that Justin used a document of that kind in addition to the synoptists, especially for his statements relative to the birth and infancy of Jesus; but most of them show the direct use of Luke. His manner was to intermix quotations from two or more sources, and not to give the texts verbally.

There is no doubt that Marcion had the gospel of Luke, which he adapted to his own ideas by arbitrary treatment. He lived before Justin, about A.D. 138; and is the earliest writer from whom we learn that the work then existed.

The Ebionite author of the Clementine Homilies (A.D.

[1] See Dial. 70. 100. 51.

[2] Ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουσάντων συντέταχθαι, ὅτι ἱδρὼς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος, Παρελθέτω εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.—*Dial.* 103.

[3] Καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταύρῳ εἶπε, Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.—*Dial.* 105.

175) knew and used the gospel, as several passages show, especially one in Hom. xix. 2, compared with xi. 35, which shows that Luke x. 18 was the source. Another in ix. 22 is taken from Luke x. 20. Probably also a passage in Hom. iii. 15 was influenced by Luke x. 24, as well as by Matthew; and another in iii. 30 by Luke ix. 5. In Hom. xvii. 5 there is a passage from Luke xviii. 6–8; while Hom. ii. 13 shows an acquaintance with the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Credner[1] enumerates twenty-four places in which Luke was used by the Clementine author, but several of them are doubtful.[2] Luke had also an uncanonical gospel, from which he drew largely, as Justin did. The first book of the Clementine Recognitions also shows acquaintance with Luke.

Whether Basilides and Valentinus used it is uncertain; for Hippolytus's 'Philosophumena' refer to these heretics in a vague and general way. Their disciples unquestionably employed all the canonical gospels; and Hippolytus seems to have quoted from them opinions which he ascribes to their leaders. Many expressions of the New Testament which Irenaeus gives from the Valentinians in his first book are taken from the third gospel. According to Agrippa Castor, Basilides composed twenty-four books on *the gospel*,[3] but that expression should not be identified with the four canonical gospels. It means Christian truth, as Basilides supposed it to have been handed down from the apostles; and does not necessarily denote one or more *written* gospels. The passage in the 'Philosophumena,' which is thought to prove Basilides's use of the third gospel, is in vii. 26, quoting Luke i. 35, but introduced by the usual *he says*,[4] which has no definite subject, and may mean either Basilides or one of his school; the latter

[1] Beiträge, i. pp. 284–330.
[2] See Zeller's Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 53, *et seq.*
[3] εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. [4] φησί.

most probably, as a wide induction of examples shows. The same passage in Luke is said to be cited by Valentinus (vi. 35), with the word *he says* in the introductory context, which points to one of the Valentinians, not to the head of the sect.

Celsus seems to have known it, as he refers to the genealogy of Christ going up to Adam.[1] The place in which there is an allusion to two angels appearing at the grave of Jesus, may point either to Luke or John.[2] And Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 180) has the words of Luke xviii. 27 in his second book to Autolycus.

Irenæus (A.D. 177–202) is the earliest writer who expressly attributes the work to Luke. Clement of Alexandria adopts the same opinion, and the fathers generally follow it. Tertullian, however, expresses himself vaguely on the point, in a way not like his usually confident one.[3]

The testimonies we have adduced lead up to the year 130, not higher, and show that the gospel existed in the circles where Marcion and Justin lived. But they do not tell us how widely it was known, what repute it had, or who its author was. It does not appear to have been much known out of Rome in their time; nor was it preferred by them to an extra-canonical gospel or gospels which they employed along with it. Neither itself, nor those of Matthew and Mark in addition, were the exclusive source whence the earliest ecclesiastical writers drew their knowledge of gospel history.

The work itself does not state that Luke wrote it, nor do the Acts of the Apostles. Both favour another opinion. The desire to have a Pauline gospel fixed itself upon the third and attributed it to Luke—an inference drawn from the Acts, where it is said that the author of the account of Paul's journey was his companion, and

[1] Origen contra Celsum, ii. 32. [2] Ibid. v. 52.
[3] Evangelium quod Lucae refertur.—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 4.

accompanied him to Rome. Neither Timothy nor Silas, who are mentioned in the Acts, could have been the writer of that book. Luke was selected, not only because of the notices in Coloss. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11, but also the tradition that he was with the apostle in Rome. And when Luke was chosen as the writer of the Acts, the authorship of the gospel was assigned to him also. Both hypotheses are untenable. The writer of the Acts forbears to connect himself with the apostle on his journeys. We do not deny that *an original account* of Paul's travels was written by a companion and eye-witness; but the writer of the Acts set aside this particular when he incorporated the itinerary with his own document. We must not, however, speak of the authenticity of the Acts farther at present, though the discussion of that subject is a necessary preliminary to the ascertainment of the authorship of the gospel. Both proceeded from the same person, who could not have been Luke because of the time when the third gospel was written, as shown by internal evidence.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into five parts.

1. Narrative of the birth and childhood of John the Baptist, and of Jesus, i. 4–ii. 52.

2. Circumstances preparatory to Christ's public ministry, iii. 1–iv. 13.

3. His appearances in Galilee as the Messiah, iv. 14–ix. 50.

4. Discourses and events in his last journey to Jerusalem, with his triumphal entry into the city, ix. 51–xxi. 38.

5. His apprehension, crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension, xxii. 1–xxiv. 53.

After the preface, the evangelist gives the announcement of the births of John and of Jesus (i. 5–38),

with Mary's visit to Elizabeth, followed by John's birth and circumcision (i. 39–80). The birth of Jesus, its announcement to shepherds by angels, the circumcision, and presentation of the child in the temple, with the prophecy of Simeon and Anna, complete this introductory history, which is interspersed with the traditional, unhistoric, and mythical. The announcement of the angel to Mary, and the angelic communication to Zacharias, are unhistorical. The journey of Mary to Elizabeth and the circumstances connected with it, partake of the marvellous and unpsychological. Nor can this history of the birth and infancy be brought into harmony with Matthew's gospel in several particulars. Thus—

Luke supposes that before the birth of Jesus, which took place only accidentally at Bethlehem, Joseph and Mary lived at Nazareth. On the contrary, Matthew supposes that Bethlehem was their place of abode; for Joseph, but for the intervention of certain circumstances, would have returned to Judea after his flight into Egypt, to Bethlehem, not Nazareth in Galilee. The birth at Bethlehem rests upon an insecure foundation, having apparently originated in the fact that the Messiah must spring from the city of David.

Nor is there room for the murder of the children in Bethlehem and the flight to Egypt in Luke's narrative. 'The Magi must have been at Bethlehem,' says Schleiermacher, 'before Jesus's presentation; for not only does Luke make the parents return immediately after that ceremony to Nazareth, but, according to his statement of the whole transaction, there is not the slightest conceivable motive for a fresh prolonged stay in the strange town of Bethlehem. No ground for the supposition either of employment in Bethlehem, or of an intention to settle there, is afforded by Luke's narrative, or even consistent with it; and all its vividness is destroyed, if we imagine that Joseph's return

to Bethlehem was merely omitted. . . . . The point must be allowed to be clear, when we take into the account that Joseph went to Bethlehem solely on account of the registry, how ill Mary was accommodated there in her labour, and how reluctant they must have been to undergo the fatigue of a double journey. Now had the Magi arrived before the presentation, in that case, considering how near Bethlehem was to Jerusalem, intelligence would certainly have reached the former place of Herod's inquiries after the birthplace of the Messiah, and that the Magi discovered it by the direction thence obtained. Moreover the Magi must have had the dream, which warned them against returning to Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, and it is much more probable that they related, than that they suppressed it. Must not Joseph now, considering Herod's notorious character, have conceived suspicion from these circumstances, and abandoned the wholly needless journey to Jerusalem? The flight into Egypt, therefore, is indeed very naturally connected with the visit of the Magi and the attention it excited. . . . but the journey to Jerusalem is inconsistent with it.'[1]

The next incident is the interesting one of Jesus teaching in the temple (ii. 41–52), when he was twelve years of age.

The 3rd chapter begins with the preaching and baptism of John, and proceeds to the baptism of Jesus, giving a genealogical register of the descent of Joseph.

It is impossible for us, at the present day, to account for Luke's passing by the genealogy in Matthew and giving another so different. According to his preface he searched diligently, and took an independent course. He may have followed a written pedigree or pedigrees which the Jewish-christians had compiled; but it is difficult to suppose that he adopted any such account implicitly.

[1] Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, translated, pp. 46, 47.

Probably tradition and his own research had a share in his genealogy of Joseph, as well as an existing register. One thing is certain, that the Davidic descent of Jesus was commonly believed at the time, in conformity with the national Jewish idea that the Messiah was to be a descendant of David. When Luke wrote, an opinion was entertained that Joseph was only the *putative* father of Jesus, and therefore he throws in the clause *as was supposed*, in iii. 23. A higher origin is also ascribed to him in Matthew. Yet both evangelists trace his origin to David through Joseph, as if he were Joseph's son by natural descent. The later view is appended to the early belief embodied in the original genealogies, with which indeed it does not agree. The Davidic descent of Jesus was a point which the evangelists were desirous to establish; and as they could trace it in no other way than through Joseph by the help of existing Jewish documents, they could not omit genealogical registers though not properly harmonising with the supernatural descent of Christ, and which were not even made to do so by annexed words or alterations of phraseology. In any case, as long as the two genealogies of Matthew and Luke disagree, they cannot have much historical value. The numerous attempts which have been made to bring them into harmony, show how preconceived views occupy the minds of many, shutting out that love of truth which should not be corrupted, however great the temptation. Two of the ablest critics who have attempted solutions, Wieseler and Lord Arthur Hervey, confirm this remark. Their arbitrary suppositions, often opposite to the plain records, are evidence of entanglement. Thus the latter concludes from the fact that a second genealogy is given (that of Luke), that the first gives Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David; the second, Joseph's private genealogy. Hence Matthew's is not Joseph's real paternal stem. If it were, there would be no room for another! The

absurdity of this is patent. The same writer asserts, without the least evidence, that Mary was first cousin to her husband Joseph, 'so that, in point of *fact* though not in *form*, both genealogies are as much hers as her husband's.'[1] A refutation of these fancies, destitute as they are of the resemblance of truth, would be a waste of time.

The genealogy of Joseph, as given by Luke, is very different from Matthew's, and in various points irreconcilable with it.

1. Luke says that Joseph was the son of Heli; Matthew that he was the son of Jacob. The former makes Salathiel the son of Neri; the latter of Jechonias. The two genealogies agree in the two names Salathiel and Zorobabel alone, between David and Joseph the husband of Mary; the descent being traced through a different set of names. In Matthew, the line comes through Solomon and the known series of kings; in Luke, through Nathan and a succession of unknown persons. Though the genealogies therefore agree from Abraham to David, they differ from the latter onward. How is the difficulty about Joseph's parentage removed? Many assume a Levirate marriage, according to which Matthew gives the *natural*, Luke the *legal* descent. This assumes that Eli and Jacob were only half-brothers, sons of the same mother, but of different fathers. The same arrangement is called into requisition for the appearance of Salathiel and Zorobabel. There was a Levirate marriage in the case of Salathiel's mother, so that Neri and Jechonias were half-brothers. Such complicated machinery betrays a cause all but hopeless. Neither Matthew nor Luke hints that Joseph's father was other than his real one. Besides, it was contrary to Jewish custom to introduce the natural father into a legal genealogy. The legal father alone was adduced.

[1] See Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. i. p. 666.

Another method of bringing agreement into the genealogies is, to assume that Luke gives the descent of Mary, while Matthew gives Joseph's. To unite this with the text, it is proposed by some to render the Greek article[1] with Eli, *the son-in-law of Eli*, which is against the context. With this hypothesis is united another, that Mary was an heiress whose husband must have been in her register. But it is very improbable that Mary was heir to property; and if she were, that the law recognising her claim to it, was still in force. It should also be noticed, that the Davidic descent of Mary is unprovable. In Luke i. 27, it is stated that Joseph (not Mary) was of the house of David; which is repeated in ii. 4. An impartial reader will have no difficulty in seeing that both evangelists give the descent of Joseph.

The narrative of Jesus's temptation in the wilderness follows (iv. 1–13). After this he begins to preach in Galilee, at Nazareth in particular (14–30). The visit to Nazareth seems to be the same as that in Matt. xiii. 54, &c., and therefore Luke puts it too early. The twenty-third verse clearly implies that Jesus had already done great works in Capernaum. The object for which the evangelist introduced it at this place is to account for Jesus going to Capernaum (verse 31). At the latter place he healed a demoniac, Peter's mother-in-law, and other sick persons (31–44).

The 5th chapter relates how Peter was called away from his occupation of fishing to be a disciple; after which Jesus cures a leper and one sick of the palsy (verses 1–26). This is succeeded by Levi's call, and what happened in his house (27–39).

Passing over the cure of Jairus's daughter, of the woman with an issue of blood, two blind men and a dumb one, the sending out of the twelve, and the mes-

[1] τοῦ Ἡλί.

sage of John from prison, which the first gospel has here, Luke relates the incident of the disciples plucking ears of corn on the sabbath, and the cure of the man who had a withered hand (vi. 1–11). At this point the selection of the twelve apostles is described, which is followed by a very brief account of the sermon on the mount. Here Luke's representation is not so authentic as that of Matthew (vi. 12–49). The so-called sermon on the mount is fragmentary and loosely connected, though Holtzmann asserts the contrary.

The 7th chapter contains the incident relating to the centurion at Capernaum, whose servant, though absent, was healed; the raising of the widow of Nain's son, the message of the Baptist to Jesus, and his being anointed by a penitent woman. The woman is usually thought to be Mary Magdalene; Luke himself, who introduces her immediately after (viii. 2), does not seem to have believed so. It is difficult to decide on the identity of the history respecting the woman who anointed Jesus in Luke's gospel with that in Matthew, xxvi. 6, &c.; Mark xiv. 3, &c. Some circumstances favour that identity, others are adverse. If the two accounts be identical, Luke followed a tradition which had modified and altered the circumstances of the case. The main fact of the host being Simon, speaks for the sameness, and it is unlikely that the disciples would have blamed the woman for wasting her ointment (Matt. xxvi. 8) if Jesus had already accepted unction from another woman. John xii. 1, &c., is different.

The commencement of the 8th chapter consists of a summary, indefinite notice of Jesus's ministry in Galilee resembling that in iv. 14, 15. This is followed by mention of the women who waited upon him and supplied his wants (viii. 1–3). Jesus now propounds the parable of the sower (4–18). When his mother and brethren visit him, he gives an enlarged and loving extension to *mother* and *brethren* (19–21). His stilling

a storm on the lake is introduced without any chronological note, just as the visit of his relations is. In Matthew's gospel both occupy different positions from those in Luke. Other miracles follow: the expulsion of devils from the Gadarene demoniac, the raising of Jairus's daughter, and the cure of the woman with the bloody flux (22–56).

The 9th chapter narrates the sending forth of the twelve disciples, Herod's desire to see Jesus, the miraculous feeding of five thousand people, the confession of Peter, the transfiguration, the healing of a lunatic, the prediction of Christ's own death, and the dispute of the disciples about precedence (1–50). According to Luke and Mark, the disciples did not strive with one another about rank in the kingdom of Messiah, as in Matthew, but about their individual position in the esteem of Jesus. The two verses 49 and 50, in which John asks of the Master whether he ought to have forbidden a person from following Jesus who had attempted to exorcise demons in his name, and the reply, are peculiar to Mark and Luke. The connection between the passage and what precedes it is obscure; nor is Meyer's explanation satisfactory. The introduction of it has the appearance of arbitrariness (ix. 1–50).

Here begins that portion of Luke's gospel which is for the most part peculiar to himself. In it he follows some document, and forsakes the synoptical or Matthew's narrative. It has given great trouble to the harmonists, as well it might.

The narrative of Jesus's journey to Jerusalem commences with his inhospitable treatment by the Samaritans, and his demands upon such as wished to become followers (51–62). Jesus then sends out seventy disciples to work miracles and to preach, who return and tell of their success (x. 1–24). The question of a lawyer about obtaining eternal life, leads to the parable of the good Samaritan (25–37). Whether this interview with

the lawyer is the same as the later one of Matthew xxii. 35, &c., Mark xii. 28, &c., cannot be easily settled. The identity of Matthew and Mark's accounts is probable, but Luke's differs materially. Yet it is possible that all three are variations of one and the same tradition. The original incident may have been shaped in different forms by the evangelical tradition, as Strauss supposes. The entertainment in the house of Martha and Mary is introduced indefinitely, without specification of place or time (x. 38–42).

At the request of his disciples, Jesus teaches them to pray, and that with earnest importunity (xi. 1–13). Matthew introduces the Lord's prayer into the sermon on the mount. Here it comes too late. As he was casting out a dumb spirit, he rebuked the Pharisees for their blasphemous imputation of his power to Beelzebub, blessed a certain woman who addressed him, preached to the people about unbelief, and reprehended the Pharisees, scribes, and lawyers (14–54). The circumstance that his severe denunciations of the Pharisees in 37–54 were uttered at the table of a Pharisee, is unlikely. Place and time are both unsuitable, and disagree with Matthew's representation.

The 12th chapter contains a discourse or discourses addressed to the disciples, but with apostrophes to the people generally. It is a compilation, the matter essentially original, the form proceeding from the evangelist himself, with the help of the first gospel in parts.

The 13th chapter begins with the story of the Galileans murdered by Pilate in the temple, and the account of another occurrence in Siloam, upon which Jesus founds an exhortation to repentance. The parable of the barren fig-tree inculcates the same lesson (xiii. 1–9). This is followed by the cure of a diseased woman on the sabbath (10–17), various parables descriptive of the kingdom of God (18–21), with exhortations to enter into it, and Herod's alleged lying

in wait for Jesus. The last (31–35), is peculiar to Luke, and would lead to the supposition that Jesus was in Galilee or Peraea, whereas it follows from ix. 51, &c., that he was now in Judea. The lamentation over Jerusalem (34, 35), is not in its proper place here, as it is in Matt. xxiii. 37, &c. It belongs to the time succeeding Christ's entry into the metropolis.

In the 14th chapter, Jesus cures a dropsical man on the sabbath, teaches humility by a parable, and recommends charity toward the poor (1–14). This is followed by the parable of the great supper (15–24), the claims of Jesus on his followers (25–35), showing that they must calculate well beforehand, lest they apostatise, and become unprofitable like salt that has lost its savour (15–35).

The 15th chapter has three parables illustrating the mercy of God toward penitent sinners. The first, is that of the lost sheep; the second, of the piece of silver; the third, of the prodigal son.

The following chapter contains the parable of the unjust steward, in which a culpable trait is used as the instrument of instruction. Verses 10–13 follow the parable, not unnaturally or incongruously. The hypocrisy of the covetous Pharisees is reproved (14, 15), and these words are added: 'The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of heaven is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail. Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery'—which it is difficult, if not impossible, to connect with the preceding context. All attempts to link them on to the foregoing verses have been failures. One can only have recourse to the hypothesis of their being erroneous reminiscences of passages in the first gospel, on the part of Luke. The chapter con-

cludes with the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, directed against the worldly who live in security and fail to make a proper use of their possessions, as is recommended at the close of the unjust steward's case. The first part of it is hardly free from the one-sided view taken in the present gospel of riches, liberality, and poverty (compare vi. 24; xvi. 9); the last portion (27–31), is authentic and true to nature. Olshausen's attempt to show the anti-pharisaic tendency of the latter parable is unsuccessful. It has no proper relation to the preceding one. "'

The 17th chapter contains other discourses of Jesus, respecting occasions of offence, the power of faith, and the unprofitableness of works (1–10). The cure of ten lepers is introduced in an unsuitable manner: 'And it came to pass as he went to Jerusalem *that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.*' The object of the words in italics is plain, to account for a Samaritan being found among the lepers. But the meaning is ambiguous; and the formula of introduction does not agree well with ix. 51. The cure of the lepers is followed by discourses about the future appearing of the Son of man, and the nature of the kingdom of God (20-37). Two parables, that of the importunate widow (xviii. 1–8), and that of the Pharisee and publican (9–14), convey instruction of different kinds. The former is connected with the coming of Jesus, an event which was so important to his disciples as to stir them up to unceasing prayer, because of the recompense it would bring them. He should then avenge his elect speedily. The second parable belonged originally to a different context, for it has no natural connection with the preceding.

At this point the source used by Luke terminated; at least, he leaves it here, falling back into the synoptic course of events.

Children were brought to Christ that he might touch

them (xviii. 15–17). This is followed by the narrative of the rich young man (18–27), having its parallels in Matthew and Mark. In answer to Peter's assertion that he and his fellow-apostles had forsaken all to follow Jesus, the Master assures him that they should be abundantly rewarded (28–30). He then foretells his own death (31–34), and restores sight to a blind man at Jericho (35–43).

The 19th chapter narrates the conversion of Zaccheus the publican (1–10), the parable of the pounds which were entrusted to different persons, and the way in which they used them (11–28). This is followed by Jesus's triumphal entry into Jerusalem with his lamentation over the city (29–44). He commences by purifying the temple, driving out the buyers and sellers; and though the chief priests and scribes wished to destroy him, they were unable as yet to accomplish their purpose (45–48).

Christ replies to a question of the chief priests and scribes respecting the source of his authority by asking the source of John's baptism (xx. 1–8); after which he declares the parable of the vineyard (9–18). He silences the spies of the Pharisees who put to him an ensnaring question about tribute (19–26), and the Sadducees about the resurrection (27–40). He calls their attention to the point how Christ can be the son of David (41–44), and warns the disciples against the scribes (45–47).

The 21st chapter contains Christ's commendation of the poor widow for her contribution to the treasury, followed by a discourse about the destruction of Jerusalem and his future coming. The last shows a later modification of the tradition than Matthew's. Here the persecutions of Christ's followers are represented as occurring *before* the wars and commotions mentioned; whereas in the first gospel they follow such disturbances (verse 12).

The 22nd chapter describes the conspiracy of the chief priests and scribes against Jesus, and the treachery of Judas Iscariot (1–6). This is followed by the preparations for eating the passover, and the meal itself, which he and his apostles partook of (7–38). At this supper Jesus speaks to them about ambition, because they disputed which should be accounted the greatest; and assures Peter that his faith should not fail though he might deny his Master thrice. The passage about the disputation of the disciples has no proper connection with its context. A similar fact had been already related by the evangelist (ix. 46); and we can scarcely resist the impression that if this be historical, its proper place is earlier. But it may have arisen from Matt. xx. 20, &c. The words addressed to Peter (31–35) are represented as spoken at the last supper, as in the fourth gospel; in Matthew and Mark they are spoken on the way to Gethsemane.

The exhortation to the disciples about their providing for combat and danger, is peculiar to this evangelist (35–38). Its connection with the context and its originality can hardly be maintained, least of all by the method which Meyer proposes. The object of it is to account for the fact that Peter is subsequently in possession of a sword at the time of Jesus's apprehension. The rest of the chapter contains the agony in Gethsemane, his capture, Peter's denial, Jesus's shameful treatment, and his appearance before the Sanhedrim (39–66). The deviations from Matthew and Mark in the narration of these incidents are mostly for the worse.

The account given by Luke of the last supper which Jesus partook of with his immediate disciples, differs from that of Matthew and Mark in some important particulars. Jesus took a cup, as is said, and gave it to the apostles to distribute among themselves (xxii. 17). Of this first cup he did not partake himself, as is

implied in the following verse: 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.' After breaking the bread and giving it to his followers to eat, Jesus took the second cup, and gave it to those present. Thus he did not observe the passover-meal at all, according to the law. The drinking of wine by the master of the house was an essential part of the entertainment. Matthew's narrative plainly says that Christ *did* partake of the paschal meal; Mark's agrees with it, and therefore Luke's account is not original. That it is designedly so, accords with the general tenor and Pauline character of the gospel. In the eyes of the evangelist, Jesus's sufferings and death were of vital importance. Hence he prefixes an announcement of them to the narrative of the supper. And the words of the sixteenth verse, in which Jesus expressed a refusal to eat the passover till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God, indicate the close of his earthly course. The first cup which he gave to the disciples is merely symbolical; and *this passover* (verse 15) is used in the Christian sense of a passover,[1] not in the legal, Jewish one. The whole transaction received a symbolical and Christian aspect, excluding the proper Jewish rite, and showing the superiority of Christ to the law of Moses.[2]

It has been often remarked, that the institution of the supper as given by Luke, has a close agreement with Paul's account in the first epistle to the Corinthians, xi. 23–26. The practical influence of the apostle of the Gentiles gradually shaped and fixed a liturgical formula followed by the evangelist in preference to the words of the institution in Matthew, which vary only because they were not yet formulised. The allusion to the future in Luke and Paul, 'this do in remembrance of

[1] πάσχα.

[2] See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch on Luke, pp. 145, 146, 3rd ed.

me,' is not in the other gospels and can scarcely be considered original.

The 23rd chapter relates how Jesus was led before Pilate, who wished to set him free and sent him to Herod. The latter, with his men of war, set him at nought and mocked him; after which he was remitted to Pilate (1–12). After several attempts had been made by Pilate to let him go, he yielded to the persistent rage of the chief priests and rulers, and delivered him up to execution. Accordingly he was led away to the place of crucifixion, where two malefactors were waiting execution at the same time and in the same manner. The circumstances of his death are minutely related; the account of the conduct of the malefactors supplementing and rectifying that given by Matthew. At the time of his death a preternatural darkness overshadowed the whole land; the centurion present glorified God; the spectators became serious (13–49). Joseph of Arimathea took down the body from the cross, and laid it in his new sepulchre (50–56).

The last chapter narrates the resurrection of Jesus. The women that came to the sepulchre received the first intimation that he had risen, from two angels, in consequence of which they returned and told the eleven as well as the rest, who were incredulous. Peter then ran to the grave, and seeing it empty, was amazed (1–12). After this, Jesus appeared to two disciples on their way to Emmaus (13–35). This narrative is peculiar to Luke, and was probably taken from a written source. Mark gives a brief extract from it. He then appears to all the disciples in Jerusalem (36–43). An address to them is loosely appended to the preceding context, which may or may not have been made on the same occasion (44–49). Having led them out to Bethany, he blessed them and ascended.

The chapter contains much that is marvellous and inexplicable; the angelic appearances to the women at

the sepulchre, whose minds were in a peculiarly susceptible and excited state; the mode in which the body left the sepulchre; the nature of that resurrection-body, Jesus's sudden disappearance in it, though he showed his hands and feet as if it consisted of flesh and bones still; and his ascension to heaven. Apparently the ascension took place on the day he rose, without an interval of forty days as is related in the Acts of the Apostles. But Luke does not always mark distinctions of time, so that there is room for inserting the forty days at the fiftieth verse. Ordinary principles of interpretation applied to the chapter, fail to bring out any definite knowledge of its contents; and the higher criticism itself must be contented with an idealising process. Conservative critics will attach importance to the letter of the evangelic record, to the empty sepulchre, the difficulty of supposing mere visions in the mind of the disciples the second day after Jesus died, to the numerous witnesses for the bodily resurrection, and the probability of miracle here if at all. They will hesitate to forsake the old faith of the Church—a step involving the serious assumption that the apostles were deceived, in the form of their belief at least, if not in its essence. Others more speculative but not less honest, will resolve the fact into a spiritual resurrection having the souls of the disciples for its theatre; finding an explanation of that state of mind in the natural reaction necessarily following the first impression of the death of Jesus, psychologically possible. They will attribute visions of the risen Jesus, narrated in the gospels, to popular imagination, conceiving that the memoirs could not but depict him in a form more or less corporeal. Feeling the force of objections to the reanimation of a body, of the contradictory statements of the evangelists, the different points of view taken in Paul's epistles, and the existence of a predisposition to visions in the first Christian believers, they will hesitate

to accept the literal. But not the less will they maintain, that Christianity does not fall with the denial of the resurrection; especially as the fact is reported in a manner so contradictory, and susceptible of different interpretations. A thing surrounded with historical and other difficulties will not be made a corner-stone in the edifice. And they are right, if the superior dignity of Jesus rests upon his stainless conscience, his life of love and purity, his words of truth, his embodiment of the Father to mankind; if the glorious manifestation of divine love in a human person be the essence of his biography; if he be 'the express image' of the Almighty.

CHARACTERISTICS.

1. Compared with Matthew, Luke has fewer original traditions. His representations are less historical. He handles the evangelical materials freely; and his own reflectiveness appears more prominently. The discourses and facts are given in a shape not so primitive or faithful as they are in his predecessor. Thus the transfiguration of Jesus, which was a foretaste of his future glorification, is put too early. Instead of occupying its proper position in his life, as the culminating point of the revelation of himself to the disciples, it is inserted in the midst of teachings respecting the kingdom of God and the Messiahship of Jesus. It comes, therefore, when the minds of the apostles were wholly unprepared for the occurrence, or rather for what it was meant to signify. Only a small part of Jesus's ministry was past when it took place, according to Luke; in Matthew that ministry was near its close; so that the disciples must have been more susceptible of the lesson it was meant to inculcate, and the future it foreshadowed.

The narrative of the temptation in Luke is not so original as in Matthew. Instead of its succeeding acts forming a climax, the last being the strongest and most

difficult, Luke gives the last place to the desire of Satan that Jesus should cast himself down from a pinnacle of the temple. 'Every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' is altered into 'every word of God,' apparently to avoid anthropomorphism; and the addition, 'for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it,' indicates reflection on the extent of the devil's power.

The sermon on the mount is also given in an incomplete form, distributed and fragmentary. Originality does not belong to it here, though it has still some genuine parts. Being adapted to a later age, and having a more general tendency, it shows the reflectiveness of a later period. Even in Matthew, it has undergone alterations and received additions. In Luke it is not a comprehensive ethical discourse, as it is in Matthew, but rather treats of how persons should act under reproaches and persecutions and be consoled, than of ethical principles to guide them.

In Luke xvii. 23 we see a modification of the corresponding part of Matthew. The words 'And they shall say to you, See here, or, See there: go not after them nor follow them,' are inappropriate in this context, and must have stood at first in a place where false Messiahs were spoken of. In like manner the twenty-fifth verse interrupts the connection, being a reminiscence of the disciples inserted by the evangelist, as is his custom. Luke interprets the Greek word[1] in Matt. viii. 6, &c., incorrectly by *servant*[2] (Luke vii. 2), for which reason he adds 'who was dear to him.' But he allows the word to remain in the seventh verse. There is no doubt that Matthew uses it for *son* (compare xvii. 18).

But while it is the rule that Luke's gospel presents a record less original than Matthew's, it is not without examples of words uttered and actions performed more

[1] παῖς. [2] δοῦλος.

correctly reported than they are in the first gospel. Thus in xviii. 19 the phrase 'Why callest thou me good' is original; while Matthew's 'Why dost thou ask me concerning the good' is a later modification.

2. The evangelist's leading object was mediating and conciliatory. He wished to bring Judaism and Paulinism together in the sphere of a comprehensive Christianity where the former would merge into the latter. In conformity with this purpose he describes the irreconcilable opposition between Jesus and his opponents, showing that Judaism was not the proper sphere in which his work could be realised. Jesus is not only the Jewish Messiah as he is in the first gospel, but the Redeemer of mankind (ii. 11; xxiv. 47); not merely the son of David but of God, bringing all men into a state of reconciliation to Him. The teaching of Jesus is not so much the leading theme of the evangelist as his *person and work*, his manifestation as the Son of the Most High. The divinity of his person is connected with the divine origin and character of his work. He is a superhuman, extraordinary being, working out a divine plan for the redemption of the human race, combating the higher spiritual world, expelling demons, and destroying the kingdom of Satan. The power of darkness, whose instruments are his Jewish opponents, is overthrown. It is this catholic tendency of the gospel that gives it a Pauline aspect, and has strengthened the belief of its author being a friend of the apostle. The writer conceives of Christ and Christianity in their relation to humanity, rather than to a particular people. Jewish exclusiveness disappears before a wider view of Jesus and his work; and the Son of man, whom Matthew depicts as the friend of mankind, taking away their infirmities and sicknesses, appears as one who came to seek and save the lost. Such purpose on the part of Luke accounts for most peculiarities in the selection, arrangement, and conception of the materials which make up the gospel. It explains the

genius of the work, not indeed by itself, but with the aid of written sources including Matthew's and other gospels.

3. There is a Pauline tendency in the gospel. In the time of the evangelist Christianity had overpassed the narrow limits of Judaism, showing its expansive spirituality, so that he was conscious of its universal genius. The apostle Paul had shown how its primitive Judaic character must be exchanged for a higher and more liberal one. Hence Luke indicates the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God (xvii. 20), even in describing its origin. That his views are more comprehensive than Matthew's, cannot be questioned—a fact which appears not only in what he narrates but in what he omits—in the mode of his statements and the occasional arrangement of his materials.

The right of the heathen to be received into the divine kingdom is always adduced. Thus Jesus came to seek and to save that which was lost (xix. 10). The genealogy is carried up to Adam, indicating that the human race had an interest in Christ, who is not said to be a king of the royal house of David, as in Matthew. This interest in the heathen, as compared with the Jews, appears in the prominence given to the Samaritans and the presence of Jews in their territory (ix. 52; xvii. 11). Jewish intolerance against that people is rebuked (ix. 55, 56); and they are placed in a favourable light over against the people of Israel (xvii. 11–19), even the priests and Levites. Seventy disciples were appointed, whose mission was to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, beyond the twelve tribes of Israel to whom *the apostles* were specially charged to announce it (x.). This enlargement of the apostolic circle is the result of a view which regards the heathen as the objects of Jesus's original care not less than the Jews, and therefore creates a special mission. Hence some of the instructions addressed to the twelve in Matthew are here transferred to the seventy; and

the instructions in Matt. x. 5, 6 are omitted. In like manner, the incident about Jesus paying tribute for the support of the temple-worship (Matt. xvii. 24–27), and the fact that saints rose from their graves at the death of Jesus and went into *the holy city* (xxvii. 51–53) are left out.

The same tendency is observable in the prominence given to free grace and mercy above Matthew's representations. Instead of the epithet *perfect* in the first gospel, which sounds like the phraseology of the law (v. 48), Luke has *merciful* (vi. 36); and in the parable of the prodigal son, the love of God towards sinners is depicted far in excess of the representation given by the first evangelist (Matt. xviii. 12–14). The same remark applies to the account of the woman who was a sinner (vii. 36–50), and to the narrative respecting Zaccheus (xix. 1–10), where the Pauline doctrine of grace is strongly set forth. The paragraph relating to the two malefactors (xxiii. 39–43), also shows the doctrine of justification by faith in opposition to works. What is said about the unprofitable servants (xvii. 10), as well as the subjective nature of the kingdom of God (xvii. 20, 21) is of the same character. The institution of the last supper (xxii. 14–19) is confessedly Pauline. And the appearances of the risen Saviour in Jerusalem show a dependence on 1 Cor. xv. 1–7. In like manner, Luke does not assign so high a place to the twelve apostles as Matthew does (compare ix. 45, 51–56; xviii. 34; xxiv. 25, 36–44, 45, 49). Thus the Pauline tendency can hardly be mistaken by the reader of the gospel, especially if the work be carefully compared with that of Matthew.

At the same time, the Pauline elements of Luke's gospel do not exclude passages of a different tendency. Statements characteristically Jewish occur on several occasions. These indeed are less numerous and rather subordinate. The fact that the primitive Judaical re-

presentations are not effaced from the history are so far favourable to its originality. The evangelist's later views did not always mould authentic materials in a more developed type. But such fidelity has one disadvantage, that it leaves uncongenial elements in juxtaposition. To the original Jewish tradition belong the introductory history and account of the Temptation, the sayings condemning earthly riches and pronouncing the poor happy (vi. 20–25; xvi. 19–31), the recommending of deeds to procure a recompense (xvi. 9; xviii. 29, 30); the contrast of the present and future dispensations.[1] In like manner, the perpetual duration of the law (xvi. 17), and the future prospects presented to the disciples (xviii. 30), are Judaistic. So also the passages that recognise the law and the prophets (iv. 21; v. 14; xvi. 29–31; xvii. 14; xviii. 20; xxiii. 56; xxiv. 44), and the mild view of the old dispensation (v. 39). The presence of these Judaistic elements, so far from prejudicing the historical character of the gospel, attests it, because they show the Jewish-christian ground on which the narratives first stood. Not that the opposite Pauline tendency destroys the credibility, for it does not appear so much in converting external history into subjective views as in the choice and mode of presenting the materials, or in the verbal dress given to discourses.

The two-fold character of the materials, to which we have now alluded is best seen in its contradictory aspect at xvi. 16, 17: 'The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.' The sixteenth verse gives a Pauline view of the law, viz. that Mosaism ceased with the Baptist, which cannot be the original sentiment; and yet the perpetuity of the law in all its minutiae is immediately subjoined. The words

[1] ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος and ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος οr ἐκεῖνος, xvi. 8; xviii. 30; xx. 34, 35.

in Matthew, 'all the prophets and the law *prophesied* until John,' are more original. Luke's object was to bridge over the ground between Jewish and Gentile Christians, uniting both in one catholic Church.

4. Luke has a considerable portion of new matter. Thus he has the parable of the two debtors (vii.), of the good Samaritan (x.), of the friend going to another at night to borrow bread (xi.), the rich man who built large barns (xii.), of the barren fig-tree (xiii), the lost piece of silver (xv.), the prodigal son (xv.), the unjust steward (xvi.), the rich man and Lazarus (xvi.) the unjust judge (xviii.), and the Pharisee and publican (xviii.). He records the miraculous draft of fishes (v.), the raising of the widow of Nain's son (vii.), the cure of a woman having a spirit of infirmity (xiii.), of a dropsical man (xiv.), of ten lepers (xvii.), the conversion of Zaccheus (xix.), the healing of Malchus's ear (xxii.); and the journey of two disciples to Emmaus (xxiv.).

The first two chapters are also peculiar to him.

Besides these larger portions, many smaller incidents and traits are given by him alone, such as the questions put by the people to John the Baptist and his answers (iii. 10–14), the anointing of Jesus by the woman (vii. 36–50), his weeping over Jerusalem (xix. 39–44), the topic of Jesus's conversation with Moses and Elijah on the mount of transfiguration (ix. 28–36), the assurance to Simon that his faith should not fail (xxii. 31, 32), the bloody sweat (44), the fact of Jesus being sent to Herod (xxiii. 7–12); his words addressed to the women that followed him when he was led away to crucifixion (27–31), the penitent thief (40–43), and the ascension (xxiv. 50–53). We also owe to Luke those affecting words, so appropriate and beautiful, which Jesus uttered as he expired, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' The language which Matthew puts into his lips, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' may be original, as it is confirmed by the epistle to the

Hebrews v. 7; but that given by Luke seems entitled to the same if not greater credit.

The principal omissions of Luke are Matt. xiv. 3–xvi. 12; xix. 1–12; xxi. 1–16, 20–28; xxvi. 6–13.

5. The large part of Luke's gospel which is peculiar and in several respects embarrassing, is ix. 51–xviii. 14, commencing with Christ's preparation to depart from Galilee for Jerusalem, and ending before his arrival at Jericho. It is distinguished from the rest of the gospel, by its consisting chiefly of discourses, not facts. The position which all the precepts, parables, and speeches here occupy, represents them as delivered in the interval between Christ's preparation to leave Galilee and his arrival at Jericho. Yet it is certain, that some of the discourses and parables are put in a wrong place. Thus Jesus's lamentation over the fate of Jerusalem (xxiii. 34, 35), was uttered after his arrival there. Matthew says that it happened in the temple (xxiii. 37–39). The section begins with the announcement that Jesus is about to leave Galilee and go to Jerusalem, through Samaria; but from x. 25 and onward he is still in Galilee. In ix. 53 the Samaritans are said to have refused him hospitality, because his face was set for Jerusalem; yet that city was not the immediate, but remote object of his journey. The Galilean ministry of Jesus is presented in a different aspect by Luke from that of Matthew. The latter makes it proceed calmly in a natural order of development, till the time when the antagonism of his enemies had gathered strength to accomplish his death. Remote from the centre of Judaism, in a province of Palestine not much esteemed, Jesus is represented as actively engaged in his divine mission till the time had come that he should go to Jerusalem and meet the full force of Jewish enmity. Luke does not present the subject in the same light. Instead of Jesus spending the greatest part of his ministry in Galilee, the evan-

gelist shortens his abode there to throw the main portion of that ministry into the journey which he took before suffering, dying, and rising again. Luke makes his death and resurrection the great end and object of his life. Hence this journey contains Jesus's chief conflicts with the Pharisees and scribes. The nearer he approaches Jerusalem, the more vehement and frequent do these conflicts become. Thus the materials are separated by Luke. The anti-jewish side of Jesus's ministry is singled out and receives a more definite place by itself, instead of being thrown along with the general mass of the materials composing the evangelical history, as it is in the first gospel. How far the source which Luke followed in these eight chapters contributed to their peculiar arrangement, it is impossible to know. That source, usually called a *gnomology*, was probably a collection of discourses which had been gradually formed by accessions of new matter. Bishop Marsh has remarked, that throughout the whole of the long section (Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14) not one of the places in which parables and discourses were delivered, is mentioned by *name*; and that therefore the gnomology had the same indefiniteness.[1] It is doubtful, however, whether that was a principal cause of Luke's ignoring the time when many of the discourses were delivered. The indefinite way in which places are mentioned (ix. 52; x. 38; xi. 1; xvii. 12) may be owing to the subjectivity of the evangelist, or his wish to be consistent by not naming places and times that would clash with the commencement. One thing is certain—that the writer was conscientious in altering the arrangement of the materials constituting the evangelical history, rather than the materials themselves; though such arrangement disturbs the symmetrical unity of the whole, and gives rise to erroneous ideas. The

[1] Translation of Michaelis, vol. iii. part. i. pp. 404, 405, 2nd ed.

order of the first gospel discovers itself at once as natural; that of the third as artificial, the result of the evangelist's Pauline ideas and leading purpose.

6. Luke shows circumstantiality and exactness, as is observable in the separation of particulars and incidents which are grouped in Matthew. His pictorial power is considerable, especially in vii. 1–10 and viii. 41–56. It is not equal to Mark's, though superior to Matthew's. In general his narrative is loose and unconnected, one event succeeding another without definite mark of time or proper formula of transition. This does not look as if he intended to mark chronological succession. Indefinite expressions like these are frequent: 'and it came to pass when he was in a certain city' (v. 12); 'and it came to pass on a certain day' (v. 17); 'and it came to pass also on another sabbath' (vi. 6); 'and one of the Pharisees desired him' (vii. 36); 'now it came to pass on a certain day' (viii. 22); 'now Herod the tetrarch heard of all,' &c. (ix. 7); 'it came to pass, as he was alone praying' (ix. 18); 'then there arose a reasoning among them' (ix. 46); 'and it came to pass that as he was praying in a certain place' (xi. 1); 'and he was casting out a devil' (xi. 14); 'and he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath' (xiii. 10); 'then said he' (xiii. 18); 'and it came to pass as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day' (xiv. 1); 'and there went great multitudes with him' (xiv. 25); 'then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him' (xv. 1); 'and he said also unto his disciples' (xvi. 1); 'and when he was demanded of the Pharisees' (xvii. 20); 'and it came to pass that on one of those days' (xx. 1).

This feature is more prominent in Luke than in the other gospels, and attracts greater attention because of his announcement to write everything in chronological succession. His sources did not furnish minute speci-

fications of time, and he could not supply the deficiency, being too remote from the events.

RELATION BETWEEN THE GOSPEL AND THAT OF MARCION.

The connection of Marcion with the document before us has been a fruitful source of discussion. He looked upon Paul as the only genuine apostle, and the older apostles as corrupters of evangelical truth. In conformity with his peculiar views, he rejected all the New Testament, except Paul's epistles, the other writers being to him false teachers of Christianity. For the same reason, he rejected the four gospels. But he had a gospel of his own, which he held to be the evangelical record used by Paul himself. The question is, What was Marcion's original gospel, sanctioned, as he affirmed, by Paul himself? Was it an independent document, older than the canonical Luke and the basis of it? This is the view upheld by Ritschl[1] and Baur[2] with great acuteness, and maintained with an amount of ingenuity which might have been applied more usefully. Was it the gospel of Luke abridged and mutilated to suit his purpose? Such is the opinion of Tertullian, Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and the fathers generally, which has been proved by Volkmar[3] with convincing arguments against Ritschl and Baur. Doctrinal motives led the Gnostic heretic to alter and mutilate the third gospel. The old opinion will not be seriously disturbed again, as long as the treatise of Volkmar exists. The Pauline type of doctrine in the third gospel harmonised best with Marcion's anti-jewish gnosis.

The use of Marcion's gospel now, as far as we know it, is to correct Luke's text, or to furnish at least

[1] Das Evangelium Marcion's und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas. 1846.

[2] Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, p. 397, *et seq.*

[3] Das Evangelium Marcion's. 1852.

some various readings equal in value to those of ancient MSS. A few original readings may be collected from the fragments which remain. Thus in xi. 2, it is probable that his 'let thy Holy Spirit come' is original, instead of 'hallowed be thy name,' borrowed apparently from Matt. vi. 9. In x. 22, it is pretty certain that the original reading was 'no one *knew*[1] the Father, save the Son,' &c.; the present tense *knoweth* having got into the text from the use made of the aorist by the Gnostics. The same reading is implied in Justin.[2] It is also in the Clementine homilies,[3] with a slight variation. According to Irenaeus,[4] the Marcosians had it. Clement and Origen use it in almost all their citations, and Tertullian has *cognovit* (knew).[5] It is also highly probable that Marcion has preserved the original text in Luke xviii. 19, 'Why callest thou me good? One is good, the Father.'[6] The same applies to v. 39, which verse was omitted by Marcion. The sense is better without it. In xvii. 2, it is doubtful whether the reading, 'it were good for him *if he had not been born*,'[7] be older than our present one; and in xvi. 17, 'it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle *of my words* to fall;[8] for whose originality Baur and Hilgenfeld argue strongly, not only because it suits the context, but because Tertullian seems to admit it, and does not accuse his opponent of altering the text; the common reading is suitable, and Tertullian may simply adopt that of Marcion to confute him.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

We have just seen that the gospel was prior to Marcion, i.e. before A.D. 130. An old witness to the existence

[1] ἔγνω, not γινώσκει.
[2] Apol. i. 63. Dial. 100.
[3] xvii. 4; xviii. 4, 13, 20.
[4] Adv. Haeres. i. 20. 3.
[5] Adv. Marcion. ii. 27.
[6] Τί (or μή) με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ.
[7] Λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγενήθη.
[8] Τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν.

of it has been found in the New Testament itself, viz. 1 Tim. v. 18, where we read, '*for the Scripture saith*, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*.' The formula, *The Scripture saith*, marks the words as a quotation; and the latter clause occurs only in Luke x. 7. We do not believe, however, that this citation carries up the date beyond A.D. 110. If Paul wrote the epistle to Timothy, it would. And the apostle, had he really quoted Luke, would probably have written, *the Lord saith*,[1] not *the Scripture saith*,[2] the latter being a late formula.

The third gospel was at first regarded as the document of a private man, which put forth no claims to apostolicity or public authority; and Marcion introduced it into the circle of apostolic writings by using it as a primitive source of Pauline doctrine.

The work itself exhibits evidence of its appearing after the destruction of Jerusalem. The *immediate* coming of the Son of man is not held forth; the evangelist contenting himself with fewer and more indefinite signs than those of the first gospel. Thus when Matthew says, 'There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom,' Luke has, 'till they see the kingdom of God;' and when the former writes, 'hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power *and coming in the clouds of heaven*,' the latter omits the last clause. In Matthew, after Jesus had announced the impending destruction of Jerusalem, the apostles ask 'When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?' but in Luke the apostles merely repeat the first question about the destruction of Jerusalem, 'what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass?' Matthew puts the destruction of Jerusalem and the second advent in close

[1] λέγει ὁ Κύριος. [2] λέγει ἡ γραφή.

succession, '*immediately after* the tribulation of those days,' &c.; while Luke writes, 'These things must first come to pass, but the end is *not immediately*.' 'Before all these things they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you,' &c. It is also observable, that whereas Matthew makes the second coming succeed the desecration of the temple as a part of *the end* (xxiv. 14), Luke omits the words 'then shall the end come,' putting 'And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that *the desolation thereof is nigh*' (xxi. 20). A careful comparison shows that Luke separates two events which Matthew puts closely together. The destruction of Jerusalem was already past. xxi. 24 implies that Jerusalem had been trodden down by the Gentiles, *till their times should be fulfilled.* Experience had shown that no alteration or improvement in the existing state of things could be expected soon after the Jewish state was dissolved; but that the Roman yoke must be endured for a while. When this evangelist wrote, the Christians had undergone much persecution; and there are accordingly many exhortations to steady watchfulness and fidelity (xii. 4; xxi. 12, &c.).

These considerations, along with the gospel's posteriority to that of Matthew, lead to the conclusion that it was not written before the beginning of the second century, perhaps about A.D. 115. The opinion that its origin succeeded Jerusalem's destruction need not be assigned to the motive of doing away with prophecy or prediction. It is perfectly consistent with the fact that our Lord foretold that catastrophe; though inconsistent with the idea that the writer's influence over his narrative is imperceptible. As long as critics admit that the sacred authors were not machines moved by a higher power, but spontaneous intelligent agents, exercising their own faculties, subjectivity must have scope. They wrote freely, moulding the evangelical history after their own notions.

It is not easy to ascertain the birth-place of the document. Some phenomena favour Rome; others, Asia Minor. The former is more probable. The writer supposes that his readers were not well acquainted with Palestine, as we see from i. 26; iv. 31; xxiv. 13. His geographical explanations cease however, when the narrative relates to Italy (Acts xxviii.). Hence it is likely that he wrote in Rome. Koestlin's attempt to fix upon Ephesus has been refuted by Zeller; and the Achaia- or Macedonia-hypothesis of Hilgenfeld is as baseless as the Caesarean one of Michaelis and Tholuck. If the gospel was written at Rome, Marcion got his first knowledge of it after he went thither from Asia Minor.

FOR WHOM WRITTEN.

The immediate purpose for which the evangelist wrote was the instruction of Theophilus, who must have been a Gentile, not a native or inhabitant of Palestine. The epithet translated *most excellent* prefixed to the name, has been thought to indicate rank, because it is assigned to Felix and Festus in the Acts. But it does not necessarily show that he was a man of eminence or authority. The word rather indicates the affectionate regard which the evangelist entertained for him.[1] The opinion that Theophilus lived in Italy, perhaps at Rome, has been favourably received. It is founded on his supposed acquaintance with the geography of Italy and Sicily, shown in Acts xxviii. And the fact that explanatory geographical remarks are wanting in the record of apostolic travels through Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece (Acts xiii.–xvi.), while the historian hastens to the conclusion in the latter part of the book, is supposed to favour the same view. Little weight belongs to that sort of proof. That the evangelist had a Gentile

[1] It was not unusual to employ it as nearly synonymous with φίλτατος.

or Gentiles in view, is apparent from the tenor of the gospel. Many of his explanations would have been unnecessary for Jews, as 'the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, *which is called the passover*' (xxii. 1); 'and at night he went out, and abode in the mount *that is called the mount of Olives*' (xxi. 37); 'Capernaum, *a city of Galilee*' (iv. 31); '*a city of Galilee named* Nazareth' (i. 26); 'Arimathea, *a city of the Jews*' (xxiii. 51); 'the country of the Gadarenes, *which is over against Galilee*' (viii. 26); 'Emmaus, *which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs*' (xxiv. 13). He also puts Greek *first* in the inscription over the cross.

Luke traces the genealogy of Jesus to Adam, the common parent of the human family; while Matthew traces it to Abraham. The reigns of Roman emperors are also employed for marking the date of Jesus's birth and John's preaching.

Again, while Matthew, referring to the Old Testament, speaks of what Moses *said*, or of that which was *spoken* by God, Luke rathers refers to what is *written*. There is, therefore, little doubt that the evangelist, himself a Gentile, wrote for Gentiles, as Origen long ago remarked. He meant to instruct Theophilus, that the friend might have a consecutive history, faithful and accurate, on which he could rely.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

The diction of the evangelist is the same in substance as that of the other synoptists; purer and less Hebraic, with the exception of the first two chapters. The preface is remarkably pure, presenting a contrast not only to the 1st chapter, which has many Hebraisms, but in a less marked degree to the whole of the gospel. It has therefore been thought, that had the author been at liberty to follow his own inclination or judgment, the work would have been composed in more classical

Greek. Freedom of style was limited by adherence to written documents and oral tradition.

The three hymns in the 1st chapter, which are chiefly made up of passages from the Old Testament, are the most Hebraic; next to them, the speeches incorporated in the narrative; last of all, the narrative itself. The following are the leading peculiarities.

1. *ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ*, i.e. וַיְהִי בְּ with an infinitive following, occurs twenty-three times; in Mark twice; not in Matthew. The construction *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive, occurs thirty-seven times in Luke; in Matthew but thrice.

2. *ἐγένετο ὡς* in designations of time, six times; or *ὡς* without *ἐγένετο*, nine times.

3. *ἐγένετο δέ* or *καὶ ἐγένετο* with *καὶ* and *καὶ ἰδού*, ii. 6–9; v. 12, 17, 18; viii. 40, 41; ix. 29, 30, 37–39; xiv. 1, 2; xxiv. 4.

4. The combination of a protasis (such as *καὶ ἐν τῷ* with an infinitive or *καὶ ἐγένετο*), with an apodosis beginning with *καὶ* is peculiar to Luke, ii. 27, 28; v. 1.

5. Two substantives are united, the latter serving to explain the former. This is especially the case with *ἀδικία*, a word that does not occur in Matthew, but which is four times in Luke: xiii. 27; xvi. 8, 9; xviii. 6. Similar combinations are *βάπτισμα μετανοίας* iii. 3; *πνεῦμα δαιμονίου* iv. 33.

6. The frequent use of *καρδία* answering to לֵב is seen in such phrases as *διατηρεῖν, συμβάλλειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*.

7. *ὕψιστος*, עֶלְיוֹן, is applied to God five times. Mark has it once.

8. *οἶκος* meaning *household, family*, בַּיִת is peculiar to the third gospel and the Acts, though found in the epistles.

9. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, מֵעַתָּה, occurs four times.

10. *νομικοί* is used six times for the customary *γραμματεῖς*, because more intelligible to Gentiles.

11. ἐπιστάτης for ῥαββί, also six times, shows a like preference.

12. ἅπτειν λύχνον or πῦρ instead of καίειν λύχνον, four times; not in Matthew or Mark.

13. The sea of Galilee is called λίμνη, not θάλασσα, five times.

14. παραλελυμένος occurs twice (or once, according to another reading). Matthew and Mark have always παραλυτικός.

15. The neuter participle with the article is frequently employed instead of a substantive, as in ii. 27; iv. 16; viii. 34; xxii. 22; xxiv. 14.

16. The infinitive with the genitive of the article, indicating design or result: i. 9, 57, 73; ii. 21, 27; v. 7; xii. 42; xxi. 22; xxii. 6, 31; xxiv. 16, 25, 29, twenty-five times in all. Mark has it once, and Matthew six times.

17. The substantive verb with a participle is often used for the finite verb: i. 10, 20, 21, 22; ii. 26, 51; iv. 16, 20, 31, 38, 44; v. 1, 11, 17, 18, 29; vi. 12; vii. 8; viii. 40; ix. 45, 53; xi. 14; xii. 52; xiii. 10, 11; xiv. 1; xv. 1; xvii. 35; xix. 47; xxi. 17, 24; xxiii. 12; xxiv. 13, 32; forty-eight times in all.

18. The use of δὲ καὶ for the sake of emphasis is frequent, as in ii. 4; iii. 9, &c.; twenty-nine times altogether.

19. εἰ δὲ μήγε occurs five times. Mark and John have only εἰ δὲ μή.

20. The neuter article is put before interrogatory clauses: i. 62; ix. 46; xix. 48; xxii. 2, 4, 23, 24.

21. The preposition σύν occurs very often, twenty-four times in the gospel, and fifty-one in the Acts. Matthew and Mark have μετά instead, or avoid the use of it.

22. ἀτενίζειν followed by εἰς, or with the dative: iv. 20; xxii. 56. Paul is the only other writer who has it twice, in the second epistle to the Corinthians.

23. εἰπεῖν πρός is very frequent in the gospel. λέγειν πρός also occurs. So does λαλεῖν πρός. The first is used elsewhere only in the fourth gospel. The same construction is found with other verbs, as ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἀπαγγέλλειν, συζητεῖν: λαλεῖν περί τινος also occurs four times, which the other synoptists avoid.

24. Participles are frequent, to give vividness to the narrative, as ἰδών, ἀναστάς, ἐγερθείς, στραφείς, ἐπιστρέψας, σταθείς, ἐπιστάς, ἑστώς, καθίσας, πεσών. Luke even puts two together without a copula, as ii. 36; iii. 23; iv. 20; v. 11, &c.

25. The evangelist shows a preference for verbs compounded with διά and ἐπί, as also for verbs compounded with two prepositions, such as διακατελέγχομαι.

26. ἀνήρ is used with substantives, as ἁμαρτωλός, v. 8; xix. 7; and προφήτης, xxiv. 19.

27. Ἱερουσαλήμ is commonly written; Ἱερουσόλυμα, which Mark and John alone have, being less frequent. Ἱερουσαλήμ is but once in Matthew, xxiii. 37.

28. χάρις occurs eight times in the gospel; in the Acts oftener. It is not in Matthew and Mark; and in John only three times.

29. εὐαγγελίζομαι often occurs. It is but once in Matthew; never in Mark or John.

30. ὑποστρέφειν occurs twenty-two times. In Matthew it is not found; and in Mark but once.

31. ἐφιστάναι is a favourite verb with the evangelist. It is not used in the other three gospels.

32. διέρχεσθαι is frequent in the gospel and the Acts. It occurs only twice in Matthew, Mark, and John, respectively.

33. παραχρῆμα occurs very often. It is only twice in Matthew.

34. ἐνώπιον is twenty-one times in the gospel; once in John, and not in Matthew or Mark.

35. Luke in general is fond of words and expres-

sions indicative of fulness, such as πλήρης, πληρόω, πλήθω, πληθύνω, πληροφορέω, &c.

36. ἔλεος occurs only in the neuter. Matthew uses it in the masculine.

37. Luke uses ἅπας frequently, though it seldom appears elsewhere. It occurs but nine times in the New Testament besides.

38. Luke is partial to καὶ αὐτός, as he uses it twenty-eight times. In Matthew it only occurs two or three times; in Mark four or five times. καὶ αὐτοί occurs thirteen times; in Mark not at all, and in Matthew but twice. αὐτὸς ὁ is used fourteen times by Luke, three times by Mark, and once by Matthew.

39. καὶ οὗτος five times. Only in Matt. xxvi. 71. Luke alone unites this pronoun with an interrogative or numeral without a connecting particle, as xvi. 2; xxiv. 26. He also puts ὅτι after τοῦτο, x. 11; xii. 39, which Matthew and Mark never do. In one case ἵνα follows it, i. 43.

40. Luke is partial to the use of the infinitive with the article. Besides διὰ τό, which occurs much oftener than in Matthew and Mark, he has πρό and μετά with the infinitive.

41. τίς ἄρα, τί ἄρα, i. 66; viii. 25; xii. 42; xxii. 23, also in the Acts. In Mark twice, and in Matthew four times.

42. The form δοῦναι, with the dative of a person and accusative of a thing, is often employed, as in i. 73, &c.

43. ἰδεῖν τὸ γεγονός, ii. 15; viii. 34. Mark has γεγονός but once, and then in a different construction from Luke.

44. μετὰ ταῦτα often occurs, but is in neither Matthew nor Mark.

45. The word στραφείς eight times. Only twice in Matthew.

46. πολλὰ ἕτερα, iii. 18; xxii. 65.

47. Peculiar combinations with κατά. Thus Luke alone has κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, or κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, or κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον. καθ' ἡμέραν five times. κατ' ἔτος, ii. 41. The preposition is also used with the genitive in a peculiar way to denote place: iv. 14; xxiii. 5.

48. The individualising expressions εἰς τὰ ὦτα, i. 44; ix. 44; ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν, iv. 21; and εἰς τὰς ἀκοάς, vii. 1.

49. Paraphrastic expressions with εὑρίσκειν, v. 19; xix. 48; and ἔχειν τι ποιεῖν, vii. 42; ix. 58; xi. 6; xii. 17, 50; xiv. 14.

50. καὶ ὅτε and καὶ ὡς often introduce the protasis.

51. The perfect participle of ἵστημι and its compounds is never ἑστηκώς, but always ἑστώς.

52. With respect to particles, μὲν οὖν and τε mark Luke's phraseology, though the latter occurs four times in Matthew, and once in Mark; also καὶ γάρ and ἰδοὺ γάρ.

53. εἷς ἕκαστος peculiar to Luke.

54. τὰ περί τινος, xxii. 37; xxiv. 19, 27, only in the epistles to the Philippians and Colossians besides.

55. The interrogative τίς ἄν, i. 62; vi. 11; ix. 46.

56. νομίζειν with the accusative and infinitive after it.

57. Luke often uses a plural relating to a preceding πλῆθος, as xix. 37.

58. λαλεῖν ῥῆμα, i. 65; ii. 17, 50, only in Matt. xii. 36.

59. Of all the New Testament writers, Luke has oftenest the relative of attraction. There are examples in which the relative pronoun adapts its case to that of πᾶς immediately preceding: iii. 19; ix. 43; xix. 37; xxiv. 25.

60. Luke is fonder of the optative than others, in the indirect construction: i. 29, 62; iii. 15; vi. 11; ix. 46; xv. 26; xviii. 36; xxii. 23.

61. The name of the father without the article is put after θυγάτηρ, i. 5; ii. 36; xiii. 16; xxiii. 28. This appears elsewhere, only in citations: Matt. xxi. 5; John xii. 15; Hebr. xi. 24.

62. Combinations with ἡμέρα, especially ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων or τοῦ σαββάτου: iv. 16; xiii. 14, 16; xiv. 5.

63. πρὶν ἤ is connected with the conjunctive, in ii. 26; perhaps in xxii. 34. Elsewhere it is always followed by the infinitive.

64. No other evangelist speaks of the πνεῦμα ἅγιον as often as Luke, who has peculiar expressions along with it, such as πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου.

65. Luke employs τὸ εἰρημένον in citations, where Matthew has τὸ ῥηθέν: ii. 24; Acts ii. 16; xiii. 40. So also εἴρηται, iv. 12; εἴρηκεν, xxii. 13. Only Matthew has εἰρηκώς, xxvi. 75.

66. Luke has νῦν where Matthew has ἄρτι. The latter he never employs.

67. ἀμφότεροι occurs six times, three times in the Acts. In Matthew three times.

68. ἀναιρεῖν, xxii. 2; xxiii. 32. Only once in Matthew.

69. ἀνιστάναι, especially the forms ἀνέστη, ἀναστάς, &c., are much commoner in Luke than in the other evangelists.

70. ἅπας, twenty times in the gospel alone, and nearly as many in the Acts. In Matthew and Mark three times each.

71. ἄχρι, four times. Except Matt. xxiv. 38, the other evangelists have μέχρι.

72. βοᾶν three times, and once in a quotation. The other evangelists have it only in quotations.

73. βραχίων except in Luke only once in John.

74. δεῖ. Luke uses it oftener than all the New Testament writers together, and especially with με before it; ii. 49, &c.

75. δέομαι, only in Matt. ix. 38 besides.

76. δέχεσθαι, fifteen times. In Matthew six, and in Mark three times.

77. διανοίγειν, ii. 23; xxiv. 31, 32, 45. Only in Mark vii. 34, 35 besides.

78. διατάσσειν, only once in Matthew besides.

79. διό, i. 35; vii. 7, and ten times in the Acts. Only once in Matthew, not in Mark.

80. δοξάζειν τὸν Θεόν, eight times. Twice in Matthew, and once in Mark.

81. ἐᾶν, iv. 41; xxii. 51. In the Acts eight times. Only once in Matthew.

82. ἔθος, three times. Once in John.

83. εἰσάγειν, only once in John, but frequent in Luke. Not in Matthew or Mark.

84. εἰσφέρειν, four times, and once in the Acts. Matthew has it once.

85. ἐλπίζειν, three times, in the Acts twice. Once in Matthew, and once in John.

86. ἐναντίον, only in Mark besides, ii. 12, where the reading is doubtful.

87. ἐνθάδε, xxiv. 41, and five times in the Acts. Elsewhere only in John iv. 15, 16.

88. ἐνώπιον, twenty times. Not in Matthew or Mark; and only once in John.

89. ἐξαίφνης, ii. 13; ix. 39; the Acts. Only in Mark xiii. 36 besides.

90. ἐπαίρειν, six times. Once in Matthew, four times in John.

91. ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, five times. Once in Matthew, and once in Mark.

92. ἐπιπίπτειν, i. 12; xv. 20, eight times in the Acts. Not in Matthew. In Mark once. In John once.

93. ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, three times in the gospel, and three times in the Acts. Twice in Matthew, but in no other evangelist.

94. ἔτος, a favourite word. Only once in Matthew, and twice in Mark.

95. εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, ten times. Only once in Matthew.

96. εὐλογεῖν τινα, ii. 34; vi. 28; ix. 16; xxiv. 50–53. Once in Matthew (?), and once in Mark.

97. ἡγεῖσθαι, xxii. 26. In the Acts, four times. Only in the citation Matt. ii. 6 besides.

98. θαυμάζειν ἐπί τινι, four times. Once in Mark.

99. ἱκανός, nine times. Eighteen times in the Acts. Three times each in Matthew and Mark.

100. ἱματισμός, twice, once in the Acts. Matt. xxvii. 35?

101. καθαιρεῖν, three times, and in the Acts three times. Twice in Mark.

102. κατανοεῖν, four times. Once in Matthew.

103. καταφιλεῖν, three times in the gospel, and once in the Acts. One in Matthew and Mark each.

104. κονιορτός, twice in the gospel, and twice in the Acts. Once in Matthew.

105. κτᾶσθαι, twice, in the Acts three times. Once in Matthew.

106. λατρεύειν, three times. Five times in the Acts. Once in Matthew in a quotation.

107. λιμός, four times. Once in Matthew, and once in Mark.

108. οἰκουμένη, three times. The Acts, five times. Matthew, once.

109. ὄρθρος, once in the gospel, and once in the Acts. In John viii. 2?

110. πέμπειν, frequent in Luke. Only once in Mark, and four times in Matthew.

111. πλῆθος, a favourite word, especially with πᾶν τὸ before it. It occurs only in the singular. Mark iii. 7, 8.

112. ποιεῖν τινί τι, i. 25, 49; viii. 39. τι μετά τινος, i. 58, 72; x. 37; the Acts. Such expressions as ποιεῖν κράτος, i. 51; λύτρωσιν, i. 68; ἔλεος, i. 72; x. 37; ἐκδίκησιν, xviii. 7, 8.

113. προσδοκᾶν, six times. Matthew, twice.

114. προστιθέναι, often. Twice in Matthew, and twice in Mark.

115. συγκαλεῖν, four times. Mark, once.

116. *συλλαμβάνειν*, seven times. In Matthew and Mark, once each.

117. *συνέχειν*, six times. Once in Matthew.

118. *τύπτειν*, five times. Matthew twice. Mark once.

119. *ὑπάρχειν*, seven times in the gospel, and much oftener in the Acts; but not in the other gospels.

120. *ὑποδεικνύναι*, three times in the gospel, and twice in the Acts. Matthew has it once.

121. *φυλάσσειν*, six times. Once in Matthew and Mark each.

122. *χαλᾶν*, twice in the gospel, three times in the Acts. Once in Mark.

123. Several Latin words are used by the evangelist, *δηνάριον*, vii. 41; *λεγεών*, viii. 30; *σουδάριον*, xix. 20; *ἀσσάριον*, xii. 6; *μόδιος*, xi. 33.

124. The following are used by Luke alone, among the evangelists:—

ἄβυσσος, *ἀγαλλίασις*, *ἀγκάλη*, *ἄγρα*, *ἀγραυλεῖν*, *ἀγωνία*, *ἀηδία* (?), *αἴτιον*, *αἰχμάλωτος*, *ἀλλογενής*, *ἀμπελουργός*, *ἀμφιάζειν* (?), *ἀνάγειν*, *ἀνάγεσθαι* to set sail, *ἀναδεικνύναι*, *ἀνάδειξις*, *ἀνάθημα*, *ἀναίδεια*, *ἀναζητεῖν*, *ἀνακαθίζειν*, *ἀνάληψις*, *ἀνάπηρος*, *ἀναπράσσειν* (?), *ἀναπτύσσειν* (?), *ἀνάπτειν*, *ἀνασπᾶν*, *ἀνατάσσεσθαι*, *ἀναφαίνεσθαι*, *ἀναφωνεῖν*, *ἀνέκλειπτος*, *ἀνένδεκτος*, *ἀνευρίσκειν*, *ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι*, *ἀνορθοῦν*, *ἀντειπεῖν*, *ἀντιβάλλειν*, *ἀντικαλεῖν*, *ἀντιλέγειν*, *ἀντιπαρέρχεσθαι*, *ἀντιπέραν*, *ἀνώτερον*, *ἀξιοῦν*, *ἀπαιτεῖν*, *ἀπαλλάσσειν*, *ἀπαρτισμός*, *ἀπογράφειν* to tax, *ἀπογραφή*, *ἀποδέχεσθαι*, *ἀποθλίβειν*, *ἀποκλείειν*, *ἀπολείχειν*, *ἀπομάσσειν*, *ἀποπλύνειν* (?), *ἀπορία*, *ἀποστοματίζειν*, *ἀποτελεῖν* (?), *ἀποτινάσσειν*, *ἀποψύχειν*, *ἄρς*, *ἄροτρον*, *ἀρχιτελώνης*, *ἀστράπτειν*, *ἄτεκνος*, *ἀτενίζειν*, *ἄτερ*, *ἄτοπος*, *ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον*, *αὐστηρός*, *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν*, *αὐτόπτης*, *ἄφαντος*, *ἄφρος*, *ἀφυπνοῦν*, *ἀχάριστος*, *βαθέως*, *βαθύνειν*, *βαλάντιον*, *βαρύνειν* (?), *τὰ βασίλεια*, *βάτος*, *βελόνη*, *βολή*, *βορρᾶς*, *βουλὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *βουνός*, *βραδύς*, *βραχύς*, *βρέχειν* to moisten, *βρέφος*, *βρώσιμος*, *βύσσος*, *γείτων*, *γελᾶν*,

γῆρας, γίνεσθαι σύν τινι, γνωστός known, δακτύλιον, δανειστής, δαπάνη, δέησις, δεσμεῖν and τὰ δέσμα, δεσπότης in addressing God, δευτερόπρωτος, διαβαίνειν, διαβάλλειν, διαγνωρίζειν, διαγογγύζειν, διαγρηγορεῖν, διαδιδόναι, διακονία, διαλαλεῖν, διαλείπειν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, διαμερισμός, διανεύειν, διανόημα, διανυκτερεύειν, διαπορεῖν, διαπραγματεύεσθαι, διασείειν, διαταράσσειν, διατηρεῖν, διατίθεσθαι, διαφυλάττειν, διαχωρίζεσθαι, διήγησις, διϊστάναι, διϊσχυρίζεσθαι, δικαστής, διοδεύειν, διότι, δόγμα, δούλη, δοχή, δραχμή, Ἑβραϊκός, ἐγκάθετος, ἔγκυος, ἐδαφίζειν, εἰθισμένον, ἐκκομίζειν, ἐκκρέμασθαι, ἐκλείπειν, ἐκμάσσειν, ἐκμυκτηρίζειν, ἐκτελεῖν, ἐκτενέστερον, ἐκφέρειν, ἐκχωρεῖν, ἕλκος, ἑλκοῦν, Ἑλληνικός, ἐμβάλλειν, ἐμπιμπλάναι, ἔμφοβος, ἔναντι, ἐνδέχεσθαι, ἐνεδρεύειν, ἐνεῖναι, ἐνισχύειν, ἐννύειν, ἐνοχλεῖν, ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ἐξαστράπτειν, ἐξῆς, ἐπαγγελία, ἐπαθροίζεσθαι, ἐπαιτεῖν, ἐπανέρχεσθαι, ἐπειδήπερ, ἐπεισέρχεσθαι, ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἐπιβιβάζειν, ἐπιβλέπειν, ἐπιδεῖν, ἐπικεῖσθαι, ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπιλείχειν, ἐπιμελῶς, ἐπιπνίγειν, ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, ἐπιρρίπτειν, ἐπισιτισμός, ἐπισχύειν, ἐπιφωνεῖν, ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐπιχέειν, αἱ ἔρημοι the wilderness, ἐσθής, ἔσθησις (?), ἑσπέρα, εὐεργέτης, εὔθετος, εὐλαβής, εὑρίσκειν χάριν, εὐτόνως, εὐφορεῖν, εὐφραίνειν, ἐφημερία, ζεῦγος, ἡγεμονεύειν, ἡγεμονία, ἡμιθανής, τὸ ἦχος, θάμβος, θεῖον, θεμέλιον, θεωρία, θραύειν, θρόμβος, θυμίαμα, θυμιᾶν, ἴασις, ἱδρώς, ἱερατεία, ἱερατεύειν, ἱκμάς, ἱλάσκεσθαι, ἴσως, κάδος, καθεξῆς, καθιέναι, καθοπλίζεσθαι, καθότι, κακοῦργος, καταβαίνειν μετά τινος, κατάβασις, καταδέειν, κατακλείειν, κατακλίνειν, κατακολουθεῖν, κατακρημνίζειν, καταλιθάζειν, κατανεύειν, κατακλέειν, κατασύρειν, κατασφάττειν, καταψύχειν, κατέρχεσθαι, κατηχεῖν, κέραμος, κέρας, κεράτιον, κηρίον, κλάσις (τοῦ ἄρτου), κλίνει ἡ ἡμέρα, κλινίδιον, κλισία, κομίζειν actively, κοπρία and κόπριος, κόραξ, κόρος, κραιπάλη, κράτιστος, κράτος, κρύπτη, λαμπρῶς, λαξευτός, λεῖος, λῆρος, λίμνη, λυσιτελεῖ, λυτροῦν, λύτρωσις, μακαρίζειν, μακρός, μαστός, μεγαλεία, μεγαλειότης, μελίσσιος, μεριστής, μετεωρίζεσθαι, μέτοχος, μήν, μίσθιος, μνᾶ, μόγις, νομοδιδάσκαλος, νότος, ὅδε, ὁδεύειν, ὀδυνᾶσθαι, οἰκοδομεῖν, οἰκτίρμων, οἰκονόμος,

οἰκονομία, οἰκονομεῖν, ὄμβρος, ὁμιλεῖν, ὄνειδος, ὁπότε, ὀπτός, ὀρεινός, ὀρθρίζειν, ὄρθριος, οὐσία, ὀφρύς, ὀχεῖσθαι, παγίς, παιδεύειν, ἡ παῖς, παλαιοῦν, παμπληθεί, πανδοχεῖον, πανδοχεύς, παντελές, παραβιάζεσθαι, παράδοξον, παραιτεῖσθαι, παρακαθίζειν, παρακαλύπτειν, παρακύπτειν, παράλιος, παραλύεσθαι, παρατήρησις, παρθενία, παροικεῖν, πατεῖν, παύεσθαι, πεδίνος, πενιχρός, περιέχειν, περιζώννυσθαι, περικρύπτειν, περικυκλοῦν, περιλάμπειν, περιοικεῖν, περίοικος, περιπίπτειν, περισπᾶσθαι, πήγανον, πιέζειν, πινακίδιον, πλεῖν, πλήμμυρα, πλουτεῖν, πλύνειν, ποίμνιον, πολίτης, πορεία, ποτέ sometimes, ever, πράκτωρ, πρεσβεία, πρεσβυτέριον, προβάλλειν, προδότης, προκόπτειν, προμελετᾶν, προπορεύεσθαι, προσάγειν, προσαναβαίνειν, προσαναλίσκειν, προσδαπανᾶν, προσδοκία, προσεργάζεσθαι, προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς, προσποιεῖσθαι, προσρήγνυμι, προσψαύειν, προυπάρχειν, προφέρειν, προφῆτις, πτοεῖσθαι, πτύσσειν, πυκνός, ῥῆγμα, ῥῆμα plural, ῥομφαία, σάλος, σιγᾶν, σίκερα, σινιάζειν, σιτευτός, σιτομέτριον, σκάπτειν, σκιρτᾶν, σκορπίος, σκῦλον, σορός, σπαργανῶν, σπεύδειν, σπλάγχνα, στεῖρα, στηρίζειν, στρατηγός, στρατιά, στρατόπεδον, συγγένεια, συγκαλύπτειν, συγκύπτειν, συγκυρία, συκάμινος, συκομορέα, συκοφαντεῖν, συλλογίζεσθαι, συμβάλλειν, συμπαραγίνεσθαι, συμπίπτειν, συμπληροῦν, συμφωνία, συναθροίζειν, συναντᾶν, συναρπάζειν, συνεῖναι, συνιέναι, συνοδία, συντυγχάνειν, συσπαράττειν, σωτήρ and σωτηρία, ταχέως, τάχος, τελειοῦν, τελείωσις, τελεσφορεῖν, τετραπλοῦς, τετραρχεῖν, τραῦμα, τρυγᾶν, τρυγών, τρυφή, τυγχάνειν, τυρβάζεσθαι, ὑγρός, ὑδρωπικός, ὑπάρχειν, Matthew has only τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ὑπερεκχύνεσθαι, ὑπερήφανος, ὑποδέχεσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὑπομονή, ὑποστρωννύειν, ὑποτάσσειν, ὑποχωρεῖν, ὕψος, φάραγξ, φάτνη, φίλημα, φόβητρον, φρονίμως, φύειν, χαλᾶν, χάραξ, χάρις, χάσμα, χόρος, χρᾶν, χρεωφειλέτης, ψώχειν, ὠόν.[1]

Luke's diction is comparatively easy and correct. Awkward constructions such as are found in Matthew

[1] See Zeller's Theologische Jahrbücher, vol. ii. p. 450, *et seq.*

and Mark are generally avoided. Thus instead of *βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς* (Mark xii. 38), Luke has *φιλούντων* before *ἀσπασμούς*, which takes away the harshness. Again: for *ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας* (Matt. viii. 9) Luke has *τασσόμενος* after *ἐξουσίαν*, obviating the harshness and obscurity. Compare also the words of Matthew, *πάντες γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς προφήτην* (xxi. 26), which are not good Greek, with those of Luke: *ὁ λαὸς . . . πεπεισμένος ἐστὶν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι.*

The difference of style between the gospel and the Acts is perceptible, the advantage being on the side of the latter. Here we find more ease, which might be the result of practice. As the preface of the gospel is written in purer Greek than the gospel itself, there is a difference between the former and latter portions of the Acts, those relating to transactions not described by a companion of Paul, and such as were taken by the evangelist from the diary of a fellow-traveller of the apostle. The difference is partly explained by the use of a written document in the one, not in the other.

THE TAXING OF QUIRINUS, IN ITS BEARING ON THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

'And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city,' &c. (ii. 1–3).

Here we remark:—

1. That a general census, embracing the Roman empire and commanded by Augustus, is referred to. Yet no contemporary historian mentions it. Dio Cassius, Suetonius, the Ancyra monument, allude to censuses of

the Roman citizens, or to separate provincial valuations; but a universal census is unknown.

The census of Quirinus took place about ten years after the birth of Jesus, and eleven or twelve years after Archelaus was deposed. This appears from Josephus. Hence the census of which Luke speaks could not have happened at the time of Jesus's birth.

Two explanations only are possible: either that the census of Quirinus has been erroneously transferred to the period of Christ's birth; or that there was a prior one unnoticed by contemporary historians, to which Luke refers. The latter hypothesis is resorted to by apologists. In proof of this, it is said that Tacitus and Suetonius speak of Augustus leaving behind him a statistical list[1] of the whole empire. Cassiodorus and Isidore are also appealed to for the same census; but these being late Christian writers, probably knew nothing more than what Luke states. The existence of an earlier census is very uncertain, and the evidence for it weak. It is not, however, beyond the reach of the possible.

2. How can this earlier census be ascribed to Quirinus? Ingenuity is ready with its answers. He conducted it as *an extraordinary imperial commissioner*.[2] In this case the participle[3] would be employed indefinitely, though Luke's language generally is precise. Or, it is used anticipatively, 'This was the first enrolment or census of Quirinus, governor of Syria, i.e. who was afterwards governor of Syria, and best known among the Jews by that title,' an inadmissible translation, because the article before the genitive could not be dispensed with; and instead of a participle, a noun[4] would be employed.

But does not Luke himself distinguish the first census from that of Quirinus? He may do so if the super-

[1] *Breviarium imperii.*
[2] Legatus Cæsaris.
[3] ἡγεμονεύοντος.
[4] ἡγεμών.

lative[1] stand for the comparative,[2] and the translation be, 'this census took place *before* Quirinus became president of Syria.' Winer rightly objects to this construction as bad Greek.[3] The participial expression[4] cannot depend immediately on the superlative for the comparative;[5] nor is it justified by Tholuck's example from Jer. xxix. 2, because a genitive absolute stands there.

3. A Roman census at the birth of Jesus must have been held either under Herod the great, or early in the administration of Archelaus, which is extremely improbable. In countries not yet reduced to the form of a Roman province but governed by *reges socii*, these princes themselves collected the taxes. The same usage prevailed in Judea before Archelaus was deposed. Hence a Roman decree respecting a census would not then affect Judea.

4. A Roman census, before Judea was converted into a proper Roman province, must have been conducted according to Roman usage, which did not require the parents of Jesus to travel from Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem in Judea. Least of all was the personal appearance of females necessary. The Roman census was regulated by the place of abode. But Joseph did not live at Bethlehem, according to Luke. It has been said, however, that the census was a Jewish one, conducted in Jewish fashion. Hence Joseph went to the place whence his family had sprung. But even this did not require Mary's presence. If it be thought that she was an heiress and had to appear on that account, her poverty is against the supposition.

5. Luke speaks, in Acts v. 37, of the taxing of Quirinus.[6] Hence he knew of that one alone, and could not have thought of an earlier.

[1] πρώτη. [2] προτέρα.
[3] Biblisches Realwörterbuch, s. v. Schatzung.
[4] ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίνου. [5] πρώτη for προτέρα.
[6] ἡ ἀπογραφή.

Luke's statement is incorrect, in whatever way it be considered. Insuperable difficulties lie against it. The carrying out of a census of the Roman empire under Augustus is unhistorical. Had it been conducted, Palestine would not have been included because it was not then a Roman province. Supposing Palestine included, the census would have been superintended by Quirinus, not by Herod, an important and unusual thing that could scarcely have been passed over by Josephus. And then, the presidency of Quirinus is put ten years too early.

But a dissertation of Zumpt[1] on the Roman government of Syria attempts to vindicate Luke's accuracy. After showing that the governor of that country in 6, 5, 4, B.C. was T. Quintilius Varus, who was slain in Germany A.D. 7, and that P. Volusius Saturninus governed it A.D. 4, and probably continued in office till P. Sulpicius Quirinus was sent thither A.D. 6, the point comes up for discussion *Who governed Syria from* 4 B.C. *till* A.D. 4, *during which the census happened?* Quirinus was consul from January till August 12 B.C.; after which he subdued the Homonadenses. Zumpt tries to find out what province he ruled over from 12 B.C. till A.D. 1. Not Asia. Not Bithynia and Pontus; but Cilicia, within whose territories the Homonadenses were found. Now Cilicia having been separated from Cyprus 22 B.C. was a small province, and was not governed by itself. It was united to another, which was Syria. Here Zumpt's proof fails in showing that *Syria* was joined to Cilicia at the time specified. It is then inferred that Quirinus went into Syria as its ruler, from 4 B.C. till A.D. 1; Caius Caesar, to whom he was *rector*, according to Tacitus, having died A.D. 4. A careful examination of the argument shows that Zumpt's proof breaks down

[1] Commentationum Epigraphicarum ad antiquitates Romanas pertinentium volumen alterum, 1854, pp. 73–150.

at the very point where it is needed. The difficulty which it has been thought to remove still remains—Quirinus's census in his first governorship of Syria—for the inscription in Orelli (No. 623), from which it has been deduced, is given up by Orelli himself as spurious; and Zumpt's hypothetical reasoning about the presidency of Syria at the birth of Christ, allowing its validity, leaves the first census unaccounted for and still most improbable. But he has been praised as a *discoverer*.

A Latin inscription, discovered more than a century ago, has been adduced by Hengstenberg in justification of the correctness of Luke's statement.[1]

The name Quirinus does not appear in the inscription, but Mommsen[2] thinks it probable that it refers to him. Admitting the supposition, Hengstenberg's position, that it makes him twice governor of Syria, is untenable.[3] It implies that Augustus appointed him his legate or lieutenant a second time, in which capacity he was sent to Syria. Whither he was sent the first time is unknown. Thus the inscription over the grave of Quirinus (if indeed he be the person meant) does not testify of his twofold praetorship in Syria.[4] Mommsen himself, who believes that Quirinus had been proconsul

[1] Mommsen gives it thus:—

. . . . gem qua redacta in pot . . . . . .
Augusti populique Romani Senatu . . . .
supplicationes binas ob res prosp . . . . .
ipsi ornamenta triumph . . . . . .
proconsul Asiam provinciam op . . . . .
divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph. . . . .

i. e. regem qua redacta in potestatem Augusti populique Romani senatus supplicationes binas ob res prospere gestas et ipsi ornamenta triumphalia decrevit proconsul Asiam provinciam optinuit leg. divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Phoeniciam.

[2] In Bergmann's De Inscriptione Latina, ad P. Sulpicium Quirinum, Cos. a. 742 U.C., ut videtur, referenda. 1851.

[3] The word *iterum* would in that case have come after 'Syriam et Phoeniciam.' But it succeeds 'divi Augusti.'

[4] Strauss's Die Halben und die Ganzen, p. 70, *et seq.*

of Syria A.U.C. 751, 752,[1] asserts that it proves nothing of an earlier census in Syria than 759 U.C.

It is unnecessary to refute the peculiar view of Aberle, who endeavours to maintain two untenable propositions, viz. that Quirinus was not governor when he conducted the census of Judea in the year A.D. 6; and that he did not conduct the census himself at the birth of Christ, when he was governor of Judea. The credibility of Luke cannot be saved by such methods of interpreting Josephus as Aberle adopts, whose reasoning has been well refuted by Hilgenfeld.[2]

Let us briefly say, that the holding of a census during the supposed presidency of Quirinus would have been almost impossible in the time of Herod and Archelaus; and would necessarily have stirred up all that rebellion of the Jews to which the so-called second census led, contrary to the expectation of Quirinus. No writer alludes to it. Josephus himself is silent about it. Even Tacitus, upon whom Zumpt relies, fails to support it, because he states nothing to favour the association of Quirinus's military operations in Cilicia with a contemporaneous presidency of Syria, but connects his career in Cilicia with his consulate 12 B.C. Well does Keim say, that the new attempts of Hengstenberg, Gerlach, and Aberle, to help the historical accuracy of Luke are cuffs in the face of history.[3]

The shifts resorted to in the accentuation of the pronoun,[4] and the translation of the verb,[5] need not be mentioned. The first is nothing but the feminine of the demonstrative;[6] and the last means simply *happened, took place*, and is not contrasted with the mere *enacting* or *decreeing* of the census. Luke distinguishes a first

[1] Bis censam esse Judaeam a Quirino et primum quidem eo tempore, quo a Romanis nullo modo censeri potuit.—See *Res gestae divi Augusti*, p. 125.

[2] Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift, achter Jahrgang, p. 408, *et seq.*

[3] Der geschichtliche Christus, p. 225, 3rd ed.

[4] αὕτη. [5] ἐγένετο. [6] οὗτος.

census from a later one; but history knows nothing of the first; nothing of Quirinus being governor of Syria at the time. It only knows that he was governor of Syria ten or twelve years later, when a census of the Roman empire was made. The conclusion follows, that the census of Quirinus is incorrectly thrown back about ten years; or that the one transaction is converted into two.

INTEGRITY.

It was once thought that the first two chapters, with the exception of the preface, were not written by the evangelist. The only argument worth mentioning which was adduced against the portion is its absence from Marcion's gospel. But Tertullian says that the same document wanted the 3rd chapter, and the 4th as far as the thirty-first verse. Thus the argument proves too much. Besides, Marcion's gospel was a mutilated copy of Luke's.

QUOTATIONS.

These are:—

i. 17	Mal. iv. 6.	x. 27	Deut. vi. 5; Levit. xix. 18.
ii. 23	Exod. xiii. 2.	xiii. 35	Psalm cxviii. 26.
ii. 24	Levit. xii. 8.	xviii. 20	Exod. xx. 13–15.
iii. 4–6	Isai. xl. 3–5.	xix. 46	Isai. lvi. 7.
iv. 4	Deut. viii. 3.	xx. 17	Psalm cxviii. 22.
iv. 8	Deut. vi. 13.	xx. 28	Deut. xxv. 5.
iv. 10, 11	Psalm xc. 11, 12.	xx. 37	Exod. iii. 6.
iv. 12	Deut. vi. 16.	xx. 42, 43	Psalm cx. 1.
iv. 18, 19	Isai. lxi. 1, 2.	xxii. 37	Isai. liii. 12.
vii. 27	Mal. iii. 1.	xxiii. 30	Hosea x. 8.
viii. 10	Isai. vi. 9. 10.	xxiii. 46	Psalm xxxi. 5.

The citations of Luke are few compared with those of Matthew. The character of his gospel sufficiently accounts for this. Almost all of them occur in the sayings of Christ and others. None is made to show the fulfilment of prophecy, which would have been useless for Gentile readers. All are from the Septuagint,

with one exception, viz. vii. 27. Here Ritschl is right in perceiving the dependence of Luke on Matthew, for the latter has the citation in the same form. Holtzmann explains it by arbitrarily assuming a difference of sources, as if Luke departed in this instance from his usual method and followed another document.

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1846; Meyer, 1860; Olshausen, 1837; Ewald, 1850; Barnes, 1843; Elsley, 1844.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

NOTICES OF THE PERSON TO WHOM IT IS ATTRIBUTED.

It is probable that the Mark to whom the second gospel is commonly assigned, is the same who is called John (Acts xiii. 5, 13) and John Mark (Acts xii. 12, 25; xv. 37). If so, he was a native of Jerusalem, the son of Mary, and a decided friend of the Christians there. In the epistle to the Colossians he is styled the cousin of Barnabas; whence it has been arbitrarily assumed that he was of the tribe of Levi and the priestly line. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, leaving them at Perga in Pamphylia, and returning to Jerusalem. While Paul was on his second missionary tour, Mark accompanied Barnabas to Cyprus. But though the Apostle of the Gentiles had been dissatisfied with his conduct, and refused to have him for an associate on his second journey, they were afterwards reconciled; for when Paul was prisoner at Rome, he writes to Timothy to bring Mark with him, expressing his confidence in him. Hence he is styled the *fellow-worker* of the Apostle to the Gentiles (Coloss. iv. 11). Nothing certain is known of the remainder of his life, as the traditional accounts of early ecclesiastical writers cannot be relied on. Eusebius says he was with the apostle Peter in Rome. After Peter's death he went to Egypt, founded several churches there, especially at Alexandria, and, according to Jerome, died in the eighth year of Nero's reign, A.D. 61.

If the Mark mentioned in 1 Peter v. 13 be identical with John Mark, we have a plain intimation of the friendship existing between him and the apostle Peter. In that case, Mark was converted by the latter, and was with him in Babylon when the first epistle was written. But some, with Bengel, take *son* in the passage literally, and the epithet *co-elect*[1] as denoting Peter's wife. It is more probable, however, that son means *spiritual son*; though we must allow that the usual term for *convert* in Paul's writings is not employed;[2] and that *co-elect* refers to the church at Babylon rather than Peter's wife. No example of a salutation from the writer's wife occurs in any epistle; whereas salutations are sent from churches.

At what time Mark attached himself permanently to Peter cannot be ascertained. It was after Paul's second missionary journey. The New Testament furnishes little information on the point. In the Acts of the Apostles it is hardly intimated, although it would not not have been out of place there. But tradition often alludes to the association of the two, furnishing distinct and unequivocal notices of companionship between them, which could hardly have originated in 1 Peter v. 13, or have been derived from Acts xii. 12.

The tradition respecting Mark's close connection with Peter is embodied in the following passages.

Papias, or John the Presbyter, according to the relation of Papias says: 'The presbyter John said: Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered; but he did not write in order the things which were spoken or done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord; but afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, who made his discourses suit what was required, without the view of giving a connected digest of the discourses of our Lord. Mark

[1] *συνεκλεκτή*. [2] *τέκνον*, not *υἱὸς* as here.

therefore committed no mistake when he wrote down circumstances as he recollected them. For he was very careful of one thing, to omit nothing of what he heard, and to say nothing false in what he related. Thus Papias writes of Mark.'[1]

Irenaeus says: 'Matthew wrote a gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding a church there. And after their decease, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter.'[2]

Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, states: 'In the same books Clement has given a tradition concerning the order of the gospels which he had received from presbyters of old, and which is to this effect: he says that the gospels containing the genealogies were written first; that the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark was this; Peter having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit, many present exhorted Mark to write the things which had been spoken, since he had long accompanied Peter, and remembered what he had said; and that when he had composed the gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him. Which, when Peter knew, he neither forbad nor encouraged it.'[3]

[1] Ὁ *πρεσβύτερος* (Ἰωάννης) ἔλεγε· Μάρκος *μὲν* ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου *γενόμενος*, ὅσα *ἐμνημόνευσεν*, *ἀκριβῶς* ἔγραψεν, *οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ* τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ *πραχθέντα*· οὔτε *γὰρ* ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε *παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ*, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς *πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς* διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' *οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος* λόγων [λογίων]· *ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε* Μάρκος, *οὕτως* ἔνια γράψας *ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν*. *ἑνὸς* γὰρ *ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν*, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. *ταῦτα μὲν ἱστόρηται τῷ* Παπίᾳ *περὶ τοῦ* Μάρκου.—*Euseb. H. E.* iii. 39.

[2] Ματθαῖος . . . . *γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου τοῦ* Πέτρου *καὶ* Παύλου *ἐν* Ῥώμῃ *εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*· *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων* ἔξοδον, Μάρκος, *ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς* Πέτρου, *καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ* Πέτρου *κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε*.—*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 1.

[3] Λῦθις δ' *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς* (ταῖς *ὑποτυπώσεσι*) *ὁ* Κλήμης *βιβλίοις περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθει-

Tertullian affirms that 'the gospel published by Mark may be called Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was;'[1] and Origen states that 'Mark wrote it as Peter directed him.'[2]

Eusebius speaks at length respecting the origin of the gospel, saying that Peter's hearers prevailed upon Mark, *Peter's follower*, to write down the oral teachings, and that the apostle authorised it to be read in the churches. This account is derived from Clement and Papias, with something of the historian's own.[3]

In another work, Eusebius attributes the fact of Peter's not writing a gospel to excessive modesty.'[4]

Jerome's testimony is similar to the preceding. He calls Mark the *disciple* and *interpreter* of Peter, says that he wrote a short gospel at the request of the brethren at Rome, and that Peter himself both sanctioned it and authorised its use in the churches. Elsewhere, Jerome, calling Mark Peter's interpreter as before, says that the one dictated and the other wrote.[5]

What meaning did these ancient fathers apply to the word *interpreter*? Is it that Mark put Peter's Aramaean discourses into Greek? or is it nearly equivalent to *secretary*, as if Mark developed and put into style the oral communications of St. Peter? The latter is the more probable.

ται, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον. προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας. τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα, ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδοῦναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ. ὅπερ ἐπιγνόντα τὸν Πέτρον, προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλύσαι, μήτε προτρέψασθαι.—II. E. vi. 14.

[1] Licet et Marcus quod edidit evangelium, Petri affirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus, &c.—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 5.

[2] *ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ.*—Ap. *Euseb. II. E.* vi. 25.

[3] H. E. ii. 15.

[4] Demonstr. Evang. iii. 5.

[5] De Viris Illustr. c. 8.

RELATION OF MARK TO THE SECOND GOSPEL.

The statement of John the presbyter, as preserved by Papias, and recorded in Eusebius's history, is important in settling the present point. It is to the effect that Mark did not write *in order*[1] the things spoken or done by Christ. The most obvious meaning of the expression is *arrangement* generally, whether chronological succession or concatenation and grouping. The opposite of *not in order* is *arrangement.*[2] If this be so, the statement is not applicable to the present gospel, which has the same arrangement as Matthew's or Luke's. Nor has any attempt to show its adaptation to the character of the canonical Greek gospel been successful. *Not in order* means more than *writing some things* which phrase is in the subsequent context, i.e. than isolated facts. What reason could there have been for saying that Mark wrote only *some parts* of the evangelical history or an incomplete gospel so far, when Matthew himself did nothing else? It is impossible to refer the expression *not in order* to isolated facts, anecdotes, adversaria, facts loosely linked together; for the matter of the gospel is as well digested as that of Matthew or Luke. Nor is Meyer's ingenious assumption[3] of a twofold writing being indicated in the fragment of Papias tenable,—the one, immediately after Mark heard the discourses of Peter, which was *not in order*; the other, the writing of the gospel proper, a part of which only[4] is excused and justified as not exhibiting arrangement.[5] This meaning was not thought of by Papias or John the presbyter. Kenrick also conjectures that Mark wrote the materials of his gospel twice; but prudently abstains from any attempt to find an evidence of it in Papias's words.[6]

[1] τάξει. [2] σύνταξις.
[3] Evangelium des Matthaeus, Einleit. pp. 31, 32.
[4] ἕνια γράψας. [5] τάξις. [6] Biblical Essays, p. 66.

The result of a careful examination of Papias's testimony is, that it does not relate to our second gospel, nor bring Mark into connection with it as its author. All we learn from it is, that Mark wrote the substance of a gospel, or a gospel which was not our present canonical one. To escape from this conclusion, it may be said that John the presbyter was not infallible, and therefore we are at liberty to differ from his opinions whenever there is good reason. So with Papias. The judgments of both may be wrong. In the present instance it may be asserted that the presbyter was mistaken in supposing that Mark did not write *in order*. But the statement is not so much a matter of opinion as of fact; for every one sees that Mark *did* write *an arranged work*, like Matthew's and Luke's. The difficulty of reconciling the testimony of the presbyter with the condition of the present gospel is palpable; and the witness is important from being the oldest. No solid reason can be given for despising him, except the perplexity in which he involves those who believe him to speak of the present gospel. If he speaks of a prior document written by Mark, his testimony is natural and intelligible, and the conclusion it leads to is that a later writer composed the present gospel of Mark. How then did it come to be attributed to one that did not write it? If there was originally an authentic document of Mark differing from our gospel, how did the latter come into the place of the former without the slightest historical notice of the mutual relation between the two works? The writings of the fathers usually quoted respecting the origin of the gospels speak of one and the same work, as Baur expressly allows; and if the document of which Papias speaks were not our present gospel of Mark, how could this older writing have passed at once into oblivion, and the present gospel, originating suddenly in its stead, be reckoned the work of Mark? It is difficult to an-

swer these questions. It does not seem likely that John the presbyter spoke of a proper gospel, but rather a work in the same style with the Clementine homilies,[1] in which Mark wrote down sayings, narratives, and teachings of the apostle Peter. But Papias and the succeeding fathers already knew the present gospel, of which they speak as though it were Mark's Petrine document. Before their day, during the process of gospel production and literature, another had supplanted that equivocal document written by Mark himself; and to it they carried over the origin assigned to the latter. The transference seems to have been effected silently, without the observation or opposition which it would have elicited in a critical age. It must be admitted that there is no proper historical trace of such substitution; and that the fathers speak only of our present gospel of Mark. It may be observed, however, that Irenaeus, though well acquainted with the four gospels, does not call the second a *gospel*, but *what was preached by Peter;*[2] as if the one work had been substituted for the other imperceptibly, and therefore it were fitting to speak of the one in terms properly applicable to the other. The fathers, being uncritical and credulous, would not scruple much, to accept a later gospel as Mark's, especially as the tradition of its connection with Peter facilitated the substitution. The fathers always meant one and the same work. Their testimony would have passed unchallenged, had we not the account of John the presbyter and internal evidence leading to a more correct conclusion. The original composition of Mark should be carefully distinguished from a proper gospel, or even a document representing faithfully and fully the teachings of St. Peter. It was an ambiguous production, written, after the death of the apostle, from recollections which must often have been vague or erro-

[1] Α κήρυγμα Πέτρου. [2] Τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα.

neous, having only the name of Peter to recommend it. After the gospels of Matthew and of Luke appeared, we can suppose the facility with which the canonical Mark would supplant these unconnected anecdotical notes. It may be also allowed that the writer of the canonical gospel used the Mark-document.

That Mark was not the writer of the present gospel may be inferred from the fact that it is not copious or remarkable in particulars relative to Peter. Thus while Peter is introduced in Matt. xv. 15, requesting the explanation of a parable, Mark has *the disciples* generally. The fact of Peter's walking on the sea is omitted; and the remarkable blessing pronounced on him by Christ is only in Matthew (xvi.). The promise made to the apostles in answer to a question put by Peter is unnoticed (Matt. xix. 28). Although he was one of the two sent to prepare for the paschal supper, Mark does not give his name. The intensity of his repentance, expressed by *bitterly* in Matthew and Luke, is omitted. Nor is the honourable name *Peter* employed by Mark till it was bestowed on him by Jesus. Some account for these omissions by the modesty of Peter, who did not wish in his teachings to introduce circumstances seeming to exalt himself. This might be more probable if it could be shown that Mark wrote when Peter was alive, and with his sanction. But Irenaeus says that Peter was dead at the time; and his statement is more credible than those of Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. If this were so, it sets aside the alleged modesty of Peter as a reason for omissions respecting his personal history. Peter is more conspicuous in Matthew's gospel than in the second, where no special prominence is assigned to him.

If these observations be correct, the canonical gospel cannot have been the production which Mark wrote from reminiscences of Peter's oral teachings and narra-

tives. It has therefore no relation to the apostle, and derives no sanction from his name. The author is unknown. External evidence on the subject is unsatisfactory and unreliable. It does not prove Mark's authorship of our gospel; neither does it show that it is an echo, more or less complete, of the apostle Peter's teachings. Internal evidence is a better test, and yields more satisfaction. If appeal be made to the contents of the gospel itself, it will not be fruitless.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into three parts.

1. Transactions preparatory to the public ministry of Jesus (i. 1–13).

2. His ministry in Galilee (i. 14–x.).

3. His last journey to Jerusalem, with the events that transpired in the city (xi.–xvi.).

1. The first two verses are the commencement of the gospel, which is followed by the appearance and ministry of John the Baptist, with the baptism and temptation of Jesus. Here the evangelist follows Matthew and Luke, the former more than the latter.

2. This section commences with Christ's appearance in Galilee and the calling of four apostles abridged from Matthew. The healing of a demoniac in Capernaum, of Peter's wife's mother, a leper, a palsied person, the call of Levi, the banquet at his house and the conversation with the Scribes and Pharisees arising out of it, the plucking of the ears of corn by his disciplës on the sabbath-day, and the cure of the man with the withered hand, follow in immediate succession. Verses 1, 14–20, follow Matthew. But at i. 21, the evangelist passes at once from Matthew to Luke, because he omits the sermon on the mount. But though he leaves Matthew's order for that of Luke, he does not abandon his mode of narration, but follows both it and Luke's in varying

proportions. The event described in Luke v. 1–11 is omitted because of Mark i. 16–20.

In iii. 7–35, Mark relates how the multitudes followed Jesus, his choice of twelve apostles, the blasphemy of the Pharisees that he was in league with Beelzebub, his reply, and the visit of his mother and brethren. At the commencement of this section, Mark leaves Luke and returns to Matthew at the place where he had left him before, viz. Matt. xii. 15. Verses 7–12 are an enlargement of Matt. xii. 15, 16. But the choosing of the twelve follows Luke vi. 12–16; after which the writer returns to Matthew, passing over the long discourses in Matt. xii. 33–45.

Chapter iv. 1–34. A series of parables is now introduced: the sower, the seed growing secretly, and the mustard-seed. The first is parallel with Matt. xiii. 3–23. Verses 21–25 are taken from Luke viii. 16–18, but verses 26–29 are peculiar to the evangelist. The parable of the mustard-seed (30–32) is from Matthew, not without reference to Luke as the thirtieth verse compared with Luke xii. shows. The thirty-fourth verse is from Matthew.

In iv. 35–v. 43 are related the stilling of the storm on the sea of Galilee, the healing of the demoniac in the country of the Gadarenes, Jesus's return to the other side of the lake, the cure of Jairus's daughter, and of the woman having an issue of blood. Here the evangelist follows Luke viii. 22–56. Hence he differs from Matthew in describing but one possessed with a devil, and calling him a Gadarene; whereas the first evangelist has two demoniacs, who were *Gergesenes*, not Gadarenes. The name Jairus is also absent from the first gospel.

In vi. 1–6, it is related how Jesus teaches in Nazareth and is contemned by his countrymen. Here the evangelist returns to Matthew, to the passage where the parables ended in the latter, Matt. xiii. 53–58.

The section, vi. 7–44, relates how the twelve were sent forth on their mission, Herod's opinion of Jesus, the execution of John the Baptist, the disciples' return, and the miraculous feeding of the multitude. Here Luke is followed more than Matthew; though the latter is not unregarded, especially in verses 32 and 34, which are chiefly from him.

The section, vi. 45–viii. 21, contains an account of Jesus walking on the sea, the discourse relative to the washing of hands, the journey into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon where the daughter of a Canaanite woman is healed, the cure of a person deaf and dumb, another miraculous feeding of multitudes, the demand of the Pharisees for a sign, and a warning against the leaven of the Pharisees. All this is parallel with Matt. xiv. 22–xvi. 12. But the paragraph, vii. 32–37, is peculiar to Mark, having been suggested apparently by Matt. xv. 30, where the general statement occurs: 'And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus's feet, and he healed them.' As Matthew did not relate any individual case of a deaf man being healed, Mark selected one for circumstantial detail. Mark omits Matthew's words (xvi. 2, 3) in viii. 10–13, and xvi. 11, 12 at viii. 21.

The healing of a blind man at Bethsaida (viii. 22–26) is peculiar to Mark.

The section, viii. 27–ix. 50, relates Peter's confession, the transfiguration, the cure of a lunatic, the announcement by Jesus of his suffering, and the dispute among the disciples respecting precedence. It is parallel with both synoptists, Matt. xvi. 15–xviii. 9 and Luke ix. 18–51, but has more agreement with the former. Sometimes the evangelist has from Matthew particulars wanting in Luke, as viii. 32, 33; ix. 9; ix. 42–47. On the other hand, he has particulars from Luke which are not in Matthew, as viii. 38; ix. 38–41. With Luke he

omits what Matthew has in xvi. 17–19, 27; xvii. 6, 7, 13, 20, 24–27; and again, with Matthew, he omits what Luke has in ix. 31–33.

The paragraph, x. 1–12, treats of divorce, arising out of a question by the Pharisees. Here the evangelist follows Matthew. Chap. x. 13–16, in which Jesus blesses little children, is from Matthew and Luke; as is also x. 17–31, where he answers the rich young man. The passage in which Jesus foretells his death, x. 32–34, is also from both. The request of Zebedee's sons, x. 35–45, is from Matthew xx. 20–27; and the cure of the blind man near Jericho, x. 46–52, from Matthew and Luke. The principal source of the whole chapter is apparently Matthew, with the occasional use of Luke. It is worthy of remark that Mark follows Luke in recording the cure of only one blind man at Jericho, not two as Matthew states. But he agrees with Matthew that the cure took place as he went out of Jericho, whereas Luke says it was as he entered the town.

3. The 11th chapter describes Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree, the expulsion of traders from the temple, and a conversation with the Sanhedrists. Here both Matthew and Luke are freely used, except in relation to the withered fig-tree, which is not in the latter evangelist. Mark differs from Matthew in dividing the particulars respecting the fig-tree, and in placing the expulsion of the traders in a different position. Matthew relates that Jesus went into the temple on the evening of the day he entered Jerusalem, and expelled the traders thence; afterwards going to Bethany to pass the night there. As he returned the next morning he cursed the fig-tree, which instantly withered. But Mark makes Jesus go into the temple in the evening of the day he arrived in the city, and go out to Bethany the same evening. The next morning as he returned he cursed the fig-tree, went into the temple and expelled the traders. On the evening

of that day he retired again from the city, into which as he was going the next morning, Peter directed attention to the withered state of the fig-tree.

The 12th and 13th chapters are occupied with parables and discourses, contrary to the manner of the evangelist. The parable of the vineyard, Jesus's answer to the entangling question of the Pharisees and Herodians about paying tribute, his refutation of the Sadducees respecting marriage in the resurrection-period, his explanation of the highest precepts of the law, his inquiry put to the scribes respecting Christ being the son of David, his reproof of the vain-glory of the scribes and Pharisees, the account of the widow's mite, together with the eschatological discourse in the 13th chapter, show more or less parallelism with Matthew and Luke. Thus, xii. 1–12 is taken from Matt. xxi. 33–46, and Luke xx. 9–19; xii. 13–27 follows the two synoptists also. But xii. 28–34 is after Matthew, and not closely; xii. 35–37 follows both; 38–40 is from Luke alone, as is also 41–44. The 13th chapter is much more from Luke xxi. 5–36; though it is occasionally filled out with notices from Matt. xxiv.

The 14th chapter commences with the statement that the chief priests and scribes conspired against Jesus. To this are subjoined the statements that he was anointed by a woman at Bethany, and betrayed by Judas (1–11). Here Matthew is chiefly followed. This is succeeded by the preparation for the last supper (12–16), where Matthew and Luke are combined. The supper itself is described (17–25), the departure for the Mount of Olives (26–28), the prediction of Peter's denial (29–31), Jesus's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (32–42), his betrayal and apprehension (43–52), his accusation before the high-priest (53–65), and Peter's denial (66–72). Of all this Matthew is the source.

The 15th chapter relates how Jesus was brought before Pilate, whose desire was to liberate him, his con-

demnation and shameful treatment, and his being led away to Golgotha (1–23), taken from Matthew. Mark omits the dream of Pilate's wife, and the act of washing his hands publicly. The crucifixion (24–37) is from the first evangelist. Like Matthew, he states that both the malefactors who were crucified with Jesus reviled him. The occurrences which happened at the time of his decease (38–40), the account of the women that stood to look on (40, 41), with that of the entombment (42–47), are chiefly from the same evangelist but not exclusively, for xv. 42 has relation to Luke also.

The 16th chapter, containing a record of the resurrection, is from Matthew and Luke, the former being followed up to the ninth verse, and the latter being abridged from that verse onward.

The analysis just given embodies the idea that the gospel before us is later than those of Matthew and Luke—an idea not accepted by many critics, among whom are Wilke, Weisse, Lachmann, Weiss, Meyer, Ewald, Ritschl, Holtzmann and Kenrick, who maintain that it is in substance the *protevangelium* or primitive gospel, containing the earliest and most original narrative of the evangelical history, without necessarily supposing that it was written before the canonical Matthew; for most of these critics assume nothing more than that the documents used by the second evangelist were apostolic ones, proceeding from persons who were either eye-witnesses, or derived their knowledge from credible sources. Cautious critics see that their opinion cannot stand the test, if it be put forward in the shape which Kenrick gives it, viz. that the canonical Mark preceded the other synoptists as an original gospel, or the protevangelium. Hence they wisely confine themselves to the hypothesis that Mark is directly taken from original documents which embodied authentic narratives, on which account it has a fair claim to the title protevangelium. As to the number of such documents,

there is a difference of opinion. It is perplexing to find that the same data are appealed to as evidence for conclusions directly opposite. We proceed to consider the subject somewhat minutely.

RELATION OF MARK TO MATTHEW AND LUKE.

At an early period Augustine thought that Mark was 'the attendant, as it were, and abbreviator,'[1] of Matthew. This opinion cannot be defended. It must either be enlarged and modified, or abandoned. More probable is the view which Griesbach was the first to recommend by good arguments, that the gospel was taken from those of Matthew and Luke, mostly by abridgment but in part by combination.[2] Had the able critic admitted another written source besides these two, his hypothesis would have been impregnable. Yet his essay was an epoch-making one; and the substance of it will maintain its validity, against attempts to overthrow it. The following positions appear to be safe.

1. There are frequent examples of verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark, some of them long and remarkable.

MATTHEW xiii.	MARK iv.
3. Ἰδού, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν.	3. Ἰδού, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι.
4. Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν ἃ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτά.	4. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὃ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.
5. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς.	5. Ἄλλο δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς.
6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.	6. Ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν ἐξηράνθη.

[1] Tanquam pedissequus et breviator.—*De Consensu Evangeliorum*, i. 2.

[2] In Griesbach's Opuscula academica, vol. ii. p. 358, &c.

MATTHEW xiii.	MARK iv.
7. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτά.	7. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας· καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι, καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν.
8, 9. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπόν,	8, 9. Καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ αὐξανόμενον, καὶ ἔφερεν,
ὃ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὃ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα.	ἓν τριάκοντα καὶ ἓν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἓν ἑκατόν.
ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.	καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.
22. Καὶ ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγει τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.	19. Καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου συμπνίγουσι τὸν λόγον καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται.

Similar verbal coincidences are found in Matt. xvi. 13–28 and Mark viii. 27–ix. 1; in Matt. xvii. 1–10, and Mark ix. 2–9.

2. There are also frequent examples of verbal coincidence between Luke and Mark.

MARK x.	LUKE xviii.
14. Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.	16. Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.
15. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.	17. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.
17. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;	18. Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;
18. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός.	19. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός.
19. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	20. Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.

Compare also Mark iii. 4, 5 with Luke vi. 9, 10; Mark i. 24, 25 with Luke iv. 34, 35.

3. In several sections Mark's text agrees partly with Matthew and partly with Luke, so that it seems a compound of both.

MATTHEW viii. 2–4.	MARK i. 40–44.	LUKE v. 12–16.
Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed.	If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand and touched him, and saith to him, I will; be thou clean. And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. [Ver. 43 not contained either in Matthew or Luke.]	Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.
And Jesus saith to him, See thou speak to no man; but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.	And saith to him, See thou say nothing to any man; but go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them.	And he charged him to speak to no man; but go, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.

Compare also Mark ii. 13–22 with Matt. ix. 9–17, and Luke v. 27–39.

4. The whole of Mark's gospel, except twenty-four verses, is contained either in Matthew's or Luke's, which, coupled with the preceding propositions, leads to the conclusion that it was probably compiled from the two.

5. Mark's arrangement is always the same either with that of Matthew or Luke.

6. It is not likely that, if Mark had written without the aid of the other gospels, he would have limited the choice of his facts almost wholly to those which Matthew and Luke recorded.

But it is said that Mark may have written his gospel first, and the synoptists have used it, enlarging its con-

tents and filling it out with new matter. To this we reply, that all ancient historical testimony is to the effect that Matthew wrote first. The portion of the gospel traditions which would be committed to writing in the first instance would be the sayings of Christ, either single discourses or collections. Events and incidents could be retained in the memory longer, and would not need to be put into writing. Mark has but few of these discourses in comparison with Matthew. He narrates events, and miracles especially, rather than the sayings of Jesus. This fact militates against the priority of his gospel, and agrees with the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, that Mark was the latest of the synoptists. It is very improbable also that a Roman gospel should have preceded a Palestinian one like Matthew's. And the earliest gospel citations from extra-canonical writings such as the Gospel of the Hebrews, presuppose the existence of Matthew's and Luke's, but never that of Mark's exclusively. Indeed, they never agree with the latter, though often with the former. Internal evidence shows that Mark's gospel is condensed from the others, instead of the others arising by amplification from it. There are also instances of incompleteness which are hardly compatible with the idea of its preceding the other two. In his desire for brevity the writer has examples of occasional obscurity, so that it is necessary to consult the others to perceive his meaning. This obscurity has not arisen from Mark being the first evangelist who put the oral gospel into writing, though brevity and incompleteness might attach to the earliest record; for it amounts to incorrectness at times, arising from haste or oversight in employing written gospels as the source of an eclectic one. If this can be shown, the argument that Mark, having two other gospels before him, would have avoided incongruities and made his own document more perspicuous and unexceptionable than they, will fall to the ground. Thus in the account

of the man possessed with a legion of devils, Mark states that the people of the district, hearing of his cure, came and saw him *clothed*,—an expression which receives its explanation from Luke viii. 27, which says that he 'ware no clothes.' In xiii. 4, the phrase '*all* these things,' is difficult, for the context specifies the destruction of the temple only. It is borrowed from Matt. xxiv. 6, presupposing what he gives and what explains it; for the evangelist represents the disciples as asking Jesus not only about the destruction of the temple, but about his coming and the end of the world. The temptation of Jesus (i. 13) is despatched in a sentence, so briefly as to be inadequately apprehended by itself. No mention is made of fasting forty days and nights; though the expression, 'angels ministered to him,' presupposes and explains it. Mark adds the new feature, 'he was with the wild beasts,' which savours of a later time, when superstitious circumstances gathered around the fact, or at least when the evangelist could add such a trait to make the picture more graphic. In vi. 54, we read, 'When they were come out of the ship, *they* knew him.' It is not said who knew him; none but the disciples being previously mentioned. The first gospel shows that it was 'the men of that place' (xiv. 35).

In xv. 39, the centurion's inference that Jesus was the Son of God because he yielded up the ghost after a great cry, is not reasonable or natural. Some other ground must have led him to the conclusion, that given being insufficient. The parallel passage in Matthew places the matter in a right view, by relating that the earth quaked, the rocks rent, and the graves opened. After seeing these convulsions of nature, the centurion and those with him were greatly afraid, saying, *Truly this was the Son of God.* The evangelist follows Luke in omitting the earthquake and the opening of the graves; but instead of making the centurion say, as he does in the third gospel, 'Certainly this was a righteous man,'

he follows Matthew, 'Truly this was the Son of God,' and creates incongruity.

Again, the evangelist has incorrectnesses arising from a process combining Matthew and Luke, or from the insertion of additional particulars. Thus in the history of the transfiguration, it is stated that Peter did not know what he said, *for they were sore afraid* (ix. 6). The cause of the fear is not given. In Matthew, the corresponding phrase stands in its right place, i.e. after the appearance of a bright overshadowing cloud and the utterance of a voice from the cloud, causing the disciples to fall on their faces (Matt. xvii. 6).

In iv. 13, the reproof which Jesus administers to the disciples is out of place: 'Know ye not this parable, and how then will ye know all parables?' This arose from the idea of the evangelist, that the disciples were praised in the preceding context for their understanding the sense of parables, which was hidden from others. But as that was inconsistent with the fact that Jesus explains the meaning of the parable to them which he had just delivered, Mark introduces the explanation by the reproof conveyed in the thirteenth verse. Jesus did not act in this manner. When his disciples asked the meaning of a parable he willingly gave it, because inquiry was a hopeful sign which he encouraged. After the explanation of the parable, the twenty-fourth verse runs thus: 'And he saith unto them, Take heed what ye hear: *with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you*; and unto you that hear shall more be given.' Here the connection is less suitable than that of Luke from whom the words are taken. 'And he saith unto them,' is less appropriate than Luke's connecting *therefore*; while the words in italics are too general and vague to suit their immediate context.

In ix. 35–37, where Luke is followed, who also omits Matt. xviii. 3, 4, Mark has given an imperfect and obscure representation. In opposition to the ambition

of the disciples, Jesus recommends humility by setting the example of children before them; as we see from Matthew. But Mark's words contain an exhortation to receive and cherish children; so that the true import of the passage is unintelligible without Matt. xviii. 3, 4.

In vi. 14–16, Herod is introduced as saying twice nearly the same thing. In the former case (verse 14), Matthew is followed; in the latter (verse 16), Luke. Hence the repetition. The verb *heard* has no object as it has in Matthew, the abridging process obliterating it, though the parenthesis, in the fourteenth verse, necessarily implies its antecedence. The title *king* Herod is improper. It should be *tetrarch*, as in Matthew and Luke. As to the reading ἔλεγον (*they* said), which Lachmann and Fritzsche have adopted after some authorities, it is obviously a correction, to make the fourteenth and sixteenth verses consistent.

In x. 2–12, the proper question is not given by Mark, in consequence of his omitting the phrase, 'for every cause,' i.e. for any fault which the husband may consider a sufficient cause. How could the Pharisees tempt Jesus by asking him merely, 'Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?'

In xiv. 53–65, we observe the later and less original form in which the circumstances are narrated. The paragraph is taken from Matthew; but when the witnesses represent Jesus as having said, 'I will destroy this temple *made with hands*,[1] and I will build another *made without hands*,'[2] later reflectiveness is observable. Mark also abridges, omitting the difficult expression *hereafter*,[3] Matt. xxvi. 64, because he understood Jesus to speak of his coming again literally, which he did not. He retains the word *prophesy* alone without its necessary context 'Who is he that smote thee?' (Matt. xxvi. 68.)

[1] χειροποίητον. [2] ἀχειροποίητον. [3] ἀπ' ἄρτι.

The secondary character of Mark's gospel throughout appears from additions which are made to the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke. The pictorial power by which the evangelist is characterised is often adduced as a mark of originality, as if the writer had either been an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, or had drawn his details from the oral communications of any eye-witness like Peter. But this hypothesis is incorrect, since many passages show that the graphic colouring and vivid details are due to the writer himself. Thus in the historical narratives, respecting Christ feeding five thousand with five loaves and two fishes, the evangelist says, 'He commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the *green* grass. And they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties' (vi. 39, 40); the transfiguration, 'Jesus' raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, *so as no fuller on earth can white them*' (ix. 3); the description of the place where the disciples found the colt, 'they found the colt tied *by the door without, in a place where two ways met*' (xi. 4); the way in which the paralytic person was set before Jesus, 'they uncovered the roof where he was, *and when they had broken it up*, they let down the bed,' &c. (ii. 4); these features evince the intention of the writer to infuse life into his descriptions. The small additions also, *with the hired servants* (i. 20); looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts (iii. 5); beholding (x. 21); taking up in his arms (ix. 36; x. 16); sitting down (ix. 35; xii. 41); beneath the table (vii. 28); laid upon a bed (vii. 30); sighing deeply in his spirit (viii. 12); was much displeased (x. 14); in the hinder part of the ship asleep on a pillow (iv. 38); and they had a few small fishes, and he blessed and commanded to set them also before them (viii. 6); and looked upon his disciples, he rebuked Peter (viii. 33); Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here! (xiii. 1); and the high-priest stood up *in the*

midst, and asked Jesus, saying (xiv. 60); there cometh a maid *of the high-priest*, and when she saw Peter warming himself (xiv. 66); when the centurion that stood by saw that he so cried out and gave up the ghost, &c. (xv. 39); and when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away, *for it was very great* (xvi. 4);—are pictorial, such as the writer could easily insert of himself; and their recurrence proves that they belong to the author's manner. The same feature appears in the sayings and discourses as well as the narratives. Thus Mark makes John the Baptist say, 'I am not worthy *to stoop* and loose the latchet of his sandals' (i. 7); and to the expression, *yielded fruit*, he adds, 'springing up and increasing' (iv. 8). So too he throws into the description of the mustard plant, 'shooteth out great branches' (iv. 32).

That these pictorial amplifications do not belong to the fresh originality of the materials, but to the subjectivity of the evangelist, is still more apparent from the mode in which the sententiousness of Christ's sayings is expanded, so that they lose much of their forcible, incisive brevity, and assume a prosaic form. This is done by introducing reasons, by explanatory or amplifying adjuncts, and by changing figurative expressions into common ones. Thus when Matthew makes Jesus express the idea that meats cannot defile a man, by, 'Whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly and is cast out into the draught,' Mark has, 'Meat entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, purging all meats,' by which scrupulous exactness the idea may be clearer, but it loses the pregnant force of the original in Matthew. In ix. 39, an additional reason is introduced for allowing a person to cast out devils in the name of Jesus, 'There is no man that shall do a miracle in my name who can speak evil of me lightly,' which makes the general proposition following, 'He that is not against us is for us,' clearer; but the reply of Jesus

becomes less emphatic and forcible by the motive adduced. In a similar way, the threat of hell-fire against those who will not put off selfishness is enforced by the reason, 'Every one shall be salted with fire,' or purified by the fire of trial in the judgment; and this again gives rise to a reference to sacrifices which could not be offered without salt: 'Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another' (ix. 49, 50). Here reasons for avoiding hell-fire are appended to the original words, without adding to their strength or even to their lucidity. In like manner, when we read in xiv. 7, 'For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good,' compared with the same in Matt. xxvi. 11, 'For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always,' it is plain that the unnecessary addition, '*whensoever ye will ye may do them good*,' flattens the statement. In xiv. 8, the phrase, 'she did it for my burial,' in Matthew, is altered into the literal but weaker, 'she hath come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.' So too in iv. 19, the concrete sententiousness of Christ's expressions loses its power so far by the addition, *the lusts of other things entering in.* 'Cares and riches and pleasures,' which Luke has, bears the stamp of originality, rather than the enlarged form of the phrase in Mark. The same remark applies to the 'many other such like things' of vii. 8 and 13. In vii. 22, the enumeration of the things which defile man is drawn out into a complete register of individual sins, as if such logical fulness were necessary on the lips of Christ.

The evangelical narrative exhibits similar evidence of designed modifications or amplifications of the primitive record. Thus in xi. 13, the cause of Jesus's not finding fruit on the fig-tree is said to be, 'it was not the time of figs;' an inappropriate reason, because it increases the difficulty attaching to the cursing of the tree. In viii. 3,

where the second miraculous feeding of the multitude is related, the danger of their fainting by the way should they be sent away hungry is accounted for by the fact that 'divers of them came from far.'

These examples serve to prove that the delineations of the gospel have not the character of originality. They are graphic, no doubt, in many cases, and the colouring is fresh; but native simplicity is absent. The pragmatism of the writer is apparent. Design is perceptible, which not unfrequently aims at clearness and vividness of detail by artificial means. Reflectiveness, indicating a later stage of gospel-writing, betrays the non-originality of the document. The older a writing, the more rugged and simple it generally is; whereas the gospel of Mark presents a diffuseness and circumstantiality of detail which savours of a later period. Had the evangelist been occupied with the original oral traditions, he would not have bestowed so much care on subordinate details. The body of the materials would have claimed his attention. It is evident that the main contents of the evangelical history had been already put together when the evangelist began to write; it remained to set individual events and circumstances in a clearer light, and to place them in the position of cause and effect by bringing a little philosophy to bear upon them. The evangelist is too much of an eclectic to have been one of the first gospel writers. He is more intent on picturesque details than on arranging and combining the body of the history.

Again, the nature of his historical and archæological explanations accords with a later time, and shows the secondary character of the gospel. They are often unimportant and prosaic, unsuitable and trifling. Thus the addition, *in the days of Abiathar* (ii. 26); the number of the swine (v. 13); *Dalmanutha*, for *the coasts of Magdala* (viii. 10); *a Greek woman, a Syro-phenician by birth*, for *a Canaanitish woman* (vii. 26); *Bartimeus*,

the name of the blind man at Jericho (x. 46); the minute play of numbers, 'before the cock crow *twice* thou shalt deny me *thrice*,' in harmony with which three denials are given, whereas the first crowing, reminding Peter of the words of Jesus, must have prevented a second denial (xv. 68–72); the paralytic *borne of four* (ii. 3),—are trifling details, the first of which at least is incorrect. Nor can it escape the reader's notice, that words of Jesus which sound somewhat hard or severe are softened, so as to yield a less objectionable sense. Thus in x. 23, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God' is modified into 'How hard is it for them that *trust in* riches to enter into the kingdom of God.' The same cause has operated in the sentence, 'He shall receive an hundredfold *now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions*,' where Luke's words, themselves a later development of Matthew's, are expanded and made more acceptable. For a like reason, the passage in Matthew respecting men making themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, is left out (Matt. xix. 12). The words of Jesus addressed to the Canaanitish woman, preserved by Matthew in their original form, are modified, so that the clause, 'let the children first be filled,' is inserted before 'it is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to the dogs.'

We have no fear that our conclusion will be seriously disturbed on the ground of Mark's having the phrase *not even the Son* (xiii. 32), showing, as has been alleged, that the evangelist puts the dignity of Christ's person lower than Matthew, and therefore that he wrote earlier. A calm consideration of the three synoptists in their mutual relations, favours the view that the Son is placed higher in Mark than in Matthew or Luke. In the passage referred to, he is said, by implication, to know what is hidden from the angels themselves: 'Of that day and

hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son,[1] but the Father.' Hence a superhuman nature is attributed to the Son during his abode on earth. He is a being intermediate between the Father and the angels. This view of his person is later than that of the first and third gospels, which present him as *a man elevated to divine dignity.* Omniscience they do not attribute to him, even in such passages as Luke x. 22; Matt. xi. 27, and xxviii. 18. The last place, indeed, cannot be compared with Mark xiii. 32, because it sets forth the words of *the risen* Saviour. Thus the christology of Mark xiii. 32, so far from showing the priority of his gospel to those of Matthew or Luke, favours the opposite view, since the person of Christ stands higher, and his knowledge is greater, than in the other synoptists. The words 'neither the Son' are an addition to the original in Matthew.

In like manner, the peculiar stress which Mark's gospel lays upon the expulsion of demons from the possessed, bespeaks a later period than Matthew's. The main purpose of the Messiah is represented to be the destruction of evil spirits as a necessary condition of establishing his divine kingdom in the world. And the conflict of Jesus with the powers of darkness is put in a still stronger light by Mark than it is by Luke. Hence our gospel proceeds at once to a case of demon subjugation (i. 23), and gives all that are related in Matthew and Luke together.

It has been already said that the original writing of Mark was superseded by the present gospel, of which it formed the basis. A Petrine gospel, as we infer from Papias and others, proceeded from Mark himself. That it was used by the writer of the canonical gospel is probable. It may have been one of his written sources, in addition to the synoptists Matthew and Luke. This

[1] οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός.

fact, for such we reckon it, should be remembered in considering the portions, larger or smaller, peculiar to the second gospel. The evangelist was not confined to Matthew and Luke for his information. Nor can all his details be explained by referring them to his own subjectivity. But we do not believe, with Holtzmann and others, that the primitive Mark (or Petrine gospel) was the most copious source of the present gospel, much less that it was the common basis of the three synoptists. It is not needed to explain the composition of the canonical Mark, because the latter is accounted for by its secondary relation to our first and third gospels.

Care should be taken to distinguish the traits that proceed from the evangelist himself and fill out the narrative in his own way, from such as were derived from a written source. All the peculiarities of the gospel are not the writer's own composition. While its secondary character can hardly be mistaken by the critic, some features are drawn from a written source; and some original modes of representation give the preference to Mark over Matthew and Luke. It is probably on the basis of these, that various scholars claim for the second gospel priority in time and genuineness, believing that it presents the original oral account in a purer state than the other synoptists; though they are in reality fewer and less important than such as show its secondary aspect. Thus in i. 36, the notice that Simon and they who were with him followed Jesus to bring him back to Capernaum, must have come to the evangelist as part of a written work, because he usually abstains from singling out Peter from the rest of the disciples, or giving him a peculiar prominence. The same remark applies to the narrative of the young man in Gethsemane who followed Jesus (xiv. 51); to the notice that Jesus would not suffer any man to carry a vessel through the temple (xi. 16); the designation of James as *the Less* (xv. 40); the observation about Pilate wondering that Jesus was

dead so soon (xv. 44, 45); the mention of Bethsaida (vi. 45); the works of Jesus in Decapolis (vii. 31); and the declaration respecting the sabbath (ii. 27). In like manner, the statement that Herod was a willing hearer of John the Baptist's, and did many things the prophet recommended (vi. 20), points to an original source, which even the remark in Matthew about Herod's sorrow at Herodias's request implies. It is less original and probable in Mark that he makes James and John prefer their own ambitious request, instead of their mother, as Matthew does; since the former evangelist had just said before of the apostles that *they were amazed and afraid* as they followed their Master (x. 32). Matthew does not therefore soften down Mark's narrative in this place, as Kenrick supposes. The examples adduced in favour of Mark being the protevangelium are appropriate in some cases, but cannot outweigh the mass of evidence to the contrary. It is easy, for example, to quote passages in which Mark is not the epitomiser of Matthew or Luke; in which he puts things in a more original form or is also fuller and more circumstantial; but *the general character* of his gospel remains the same. It is still a dependent one, briefer in contents, eclectic, with graphic details which give life and colouring to the description.

CHARACTERISTICS.

1. The gospel is catholic, undoctrinal, and neutral. Hence it is without those Judaic elements which are so abundant in Matthew. Such expressions as, 'I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;' 'It is not lawful to take the children's bread;' 'the holy place' for the temple, are wanting. The house of prayer is said to be 'for all the nations;' and the external, literal observance of the sabbath is reproved. The universal destination of Christianity, which is termed *new doctrine* (i. 27), is declared (xiii. 10). In conformity

with this, great stress is laid on the power of faith to save (v. 34; ix. 23; x. 52; and especially xvi. 16). But no direct opposition to Judaism is expressed. The Jewish nation generally is not the subject of severe rebukes; on the contrary, with the exception of the Sanhedrists, Pharisees, Herodians, and his own relatives and countrymen, Jesus obtains a favourable reception, and has his divine authority admitted. The denunciations of John the Baptist addressed to the Jewish people, the allusion to the Ninevites, the threatenings of the unbelieving cities, and such like, which appear in Matthew and Luke, are absent. The dogmatic element also disappears, probably because certain dogmas were not yet elevated into importance enough to become criteria of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Accordingly, the gospel has nothing of the supernatural birth of Jesus, though it must have been believed in the writer's day. He does not introduce it into the evangelical history, because he was probably desirous that it should not become a distinctive or prominent part of it, to the detriment of Christian peace. He contents himself with giving prominence to the indwelling of the *Spirit*,[1] in the person of Jesus. The absence in Mark of that history which records the conception, birth, and childhood of Christ, should not be adduced as a presumption of the gospel's early origin, as it is by some critics, because it can be explained more satisfactorily on other grounds. The conciliatory tendency of the work is a sufficient reason for the omission. And were it not so, it is impossible to put the gospel in a time early enough to preclude all knowledge of those wonderful things. Besides, does not the term *the carpenter*, not *the son of the carpenter*, imply the evangelist's belief of the miraculous conception? Was this phraseology chosen because of Mark's catholic stand-point—because he wrote a gospel intended

[1] πνεῦμα.

to be neither docetic nor anti-docetic, neither Ebionite nor Pauline? The other evangelists who narrate the miraculous birth could freely use the phrase, *son of Joseph*; Mark, who does not narrate the birth and infancy, speaks otherwise. This is confirmed by the fact that the oldest evangelical document, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, had the story of the birth of Jesus; for Hegesippus, who used it alone, mentions Herod and his hostility to Christianity. We conclude therefore, that the writer of Mark's gospel *omitted* that portion of the evangelical tradition.

2. The gospel presents Christ as a divine person, not so much in his discourses as in the mighty works and miracles he performed. Indeed the former are a subordinate feature. His divine nature is not spoken of, but the acts that show him divine. The extraordinary and superhuman influence he wielded has special prominence. Hence his power over demons is held up to view more emphatically than in any of the synoptists; and the thronging crowds that press on him on every side give a vivid picture of the effect he produced. The figure of the Redeemer is a commanding one, overawing and dazzling. The doubts of the Baptist respecting him are not mentioned; *he calls unto him whom he would* (iii. 13); and the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is resolved into calumny against Jesus (iii. 30). The very incapacity of the disciples to recognise the Messiah in him, and to apprehend the object of his ministry, is described more strongly in order to show the greatness and majesty of his person. Thus he doës not appear as a teacher, but rather as the founder of a divine kingdom; showing forth the marvellous manifestations of the higher power that enabled him to vanquish spiritual as well as human adversaries. The teacher is subordinate to the doer of mighty deeds; the mild, persuasive, authoritative instructor, such as he appears in the sermon on the mount, becomes a mighty personage who

sets up an imperishable kingdom by the overwhelming power of his acts.

3. We observe in the gospel a tendency to separate discourses addressed to the disciples from those meant for such as were *without*; or, in other words a distinction is drawn between his esoteric and exoteric teaching. Thus in vii. 17 we read, 'When he was entered into the house from the people, his disciples asked him concerning the parable.' So in x. 10, his disciples asked him about the subject of marriage '*in the house*.' And in iv. 34, after saying that Jesus spoke to the people only in parables, it is added, 'when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples.' Another example is in iv. 10, 11, where it is specified that when Jesus was alone he was asked the meaning of a parable by his disciples, who are expressly separated from *those without*. The same peculiarity belongs to Matthew and Luke, though they do not give it so much prominence.

4. The vivid description and graphic details of Mark have been already spoken of. In this respect he forms a striking contrast to Matthew. He shows a decided preference for the present tense, and introduces persons themselves as speakers, where the other synoptists employ the third person. His striving after vivid minuteness has led to the specification of persons (i. 20; iii. 6, 17, 32, 34; iv. 11; v. 32, 37, 40; vi. 40, 48; vii. 1, 25, 26; viii. 10, 27; ix. 15, 36; x. 16, 23, 35, 46; xi. 21, 27; xiii. 1, 3; xiv. 20, 37, 65; xv. 7, 21, 40, 47; xvi. 7); places (i. 28; iv. 1, 38; v. 11, 20; vi. 55; vii. 31; viii. 10, 27; ix. 30; xii. 41; xv. 16, 39; xvi. 5); and time (i. 32, 35; ii. 1, 26; iv. 35; vi. 2; xi. 11, 19, 20; xiv. 1, 12, 17, 30, 68, 72; xv. 1, 25, 33, 34, 42; xvi. 1, 2).

But vividness of description, which Mark usually effects by inserting details unknown to Matthew and Luke, does not necessarily imply an eye-witness or greater originality than the other synoptists. On this

point many critics have been misled, because they did not fairly consider *the character* of the delineations supposed to indicate priority of time to those of Mark and Luke. It has been argued that the manner in which our evangelist represents the performance of miracles, shows an earlier form of the gospel tradition. We are reminded of the fact that Mark recognises the use of natural means in several instances (vi. 5, 13; vii. 32). But surely this indicates a later reflectiveness, uniting the natural with the supernatural. Had it been the common belief from the beginning that the miracles were within the compass of natural causes, we might suppose that Mark represents an earlier form of the tradition than the evangelists who omit all notice of the natural; but as that is incorrect, the natural element is the creation of a later period, not a remnant of the earliest.

In like manner, the relations of Mark respecting the expulsion of demons by Jesus, while more emphatic and more frequent than in the other synoptists, have some peculiarities which consign them to a later period. The gradual development of Jesus's Messianic consciousness is a phenomenon commonly admitted by critics to lie in the second gospel, yet the persons possessed by demons whom he dispossessed are said to know him as the Son of God. There is only one case of such knowledge in Matthew, viz. that of the possessed Gadarenes; in Mark and Luke the peculiarity is usual. The demoniacs knew Jesus to be the Messiah at a time when his immediate disciples seem to have been ignorant of it. Surely this trait in Mark's narratives of the possessed argues a doctrinal point of view later than Matthew's. The peculiar prominence given to the healing of demoniacs in the second gospel, coupled with the pictorial circumstances which add life to the description, are in character with the vigorous method of the evangelist, and his leading desire to set forth the power of Christ over

demons. The details are not an evidence of historical originality, but of the reverse. Thus in the cure of the lunatic boy, Matthew has (xvii. 17), 'Bring him hither to me;' and Jesus rebuked the demon, which came out of the sufferer, so that the boy was healed forthwith. But Mark represents Christ as questioning the father about the duration of the malady, describes the violence of the paroxysm following the command addressed to the evil spirit to come out, leaving the boy to all appearance dead, till Jesus took him by the hand and raised him up (Mark ix. 20, &c.). The additional features of Mark's narrative obviously show the writer's object to set the power of Jesus in a more striking light by contrast with the violence of the demon. Nor does this detract from the instantaneousness of the cure as described by Matthew. The wonder is increased in the second gospel, which favours the view that it represents a later stand-point. When Mr. Kenrick asserts, in relation to such miracles, that Mark wrote simply to record, Matthew and Luke to impress and convince, he mistakes the genius both of the first and second gospels. The desire of Mark *to impress* is apparent throughout; while *simple recording* is obvious in Matthew. The wish *to impress* the reader accounts for many characteristics of the second gospel, and for the absence of particulars contained in the first. It even leads to a few exaggerations, as in xi. 10, where, after 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' it is added, apparently to strengthen the preceding, 'Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David.' The two miracles of healing which are peculiar to Mark, viz. vii. 32–36; viii. 22–26, have something singular about them which betray a later type. In both cases Jesus is said to have *spit* on the patients. Had Mark written first, it is unlikely that later evangelists would have omitted this circumstance or the miracles themselves. But if he succeeded Matthew and Luke, it is easy to account

for the two by supposing him to have taken them from another source. Hence their peculiar character.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

It is impossible to ascertain the precise time when the gospel was written. The Paschal chronicle and other authorities place it A.D. 40; Eusebius, in his Chronicon, in the third year of Claudius, i.e. A.D. 43. The two most ancient testimonies, those of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, are irreconcilable; the former stating that the gospel was composed after Peter's death; the latter, while he was alive. But they agree in this, that it was written in Rome after Peter's arrival there; that is, after the beginning of A.D. 63. External testimony on the point is worthless. We must have recourse to internal evidence. Taking for granted at present the integrity of the gospel, the twentieth verse of the 16th chapter shows that the apostles had left Judea and preached in many places before the evangelist wrote. We also see, from comparing ix. 1 with Matt. xvi. 28, that the writer thought it necessary to put the coming of the Son of Man to set up his kingdom farther forward than Matthew, *till they see the kingdom of God coming with power*; i.e. till they see its powerful effects upon earth. It may appear, indeed, to some that the eschatological discourse in Mark presupposes the near approach of the destruction of Jerusalem, not that it was past; but he follows the prophecy of Matthew, and is indisposed to interpose a long interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the coming of Christ. The fact that *gospel*,[1] in i. 1, is used in the sense of gospel-history argues a late period; and the expression, in xvi. 16, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved,' savours of a time when greater efficacy was attributed to baptism than it was intended to have. Probably the

[1] εὐαγγέλιον.

phrase *and is baptized* was taken from Matt. xxviii. 19, but a different turn is given to it. Yet the recollection implied in the notice that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, prevents the gospel from being put too late into the second century. That it belongs to this century must be inferred, not only from the priority of Matthew and Luke, but from the fact that it was not known to Papias, and probably not much outside Rome. A passage in Clement's epistle to the Corinthians (chap. xv.) has been thought to show an acquaintance with the gospel. But this is very doubtful. In like manner, it is uncertain whether Hermas used it. But Justin Martyr must have known though it cannot be said that he ever quotes it; for the one passage in which some find a verbal use of the gospel is taken from the 'Memoirs' or Gospel of Peter, as Justin himself says.[1] Probably we shall not be far wrong in dating it about A.D. 120.

The weight of ancient testimony is in favour of Rome as the place of composition. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, &c., assign it to that place. In favour of this, Latinisms have been adduced,[2] and the custom of explaining Greek expressions by Roman ones. But several Latin words[3] appear in Matthew and Luke also. And it was natural, if the evangelist wrote at Rome, to state that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus; since one of these persons at least seems to have resided there (Rom. xvi. 13).

[1] Dialogue with Trypho, p. 333, ed. Colon. Compare Mark iii. 17. We take the *αὐτοῦ* (*ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ*) to refer to Peter, not to *Χριστός*, according to Justin's usual method of citation.

[2] *σπεκουλάτωρ, κεντυρίων, ξέστης, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι* (satisfacere), *ἐσχάτως ἔχειν* (in extremis esse), *συμβούλιον διδόναι* (consilium dare).

[3] *πραιτώριον, κοδράντης, δηνάριον, κῆνσος, λεγεών, φραγελλόω.*

INTEGRITY.

The last eleven verses of the gospel have been thought not to belong to it, or at least to have been written by another person than the evangelist. External and internal arguments are adduced in favour of this view. Let us notice them briefly.

1. The portion is wanting in B, ℵ, k, and marked with an asterisk in 137, 138. L, with 274 in the margin, and the margin of the later Syriac, state that more ancient copies had a very different ending; the same, in fact, as in k or the Cod. Bobbiensis of the old Latin. The scholia of numerous MSS. specified by Griesbach mention that it was absent from many copies, though it existed in others. Scholia belonging to the MSS. 1, 15, 20, 22, 206, 209, 300, and others, say that the more ancient and accurate copies terminated the gospel with the ninth verse. This is confirmed by Eusebius, Jerome, Victor of Antioch, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, and others.

In like manner, the passage is not recognised by the Ammonian canons of Eusebius in AUL$\Delta\Gamma$, as well as 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 137, 169, 186, 188, 195, 371, and others. Epiphanius and Caesarius attest the same thing. In the catenae on Mark the section is not explained. It is also absent from some old MSS. of the Armenian version, and from an Arabic version in the Vatican which Scholz examined in a few places. Nor is there any trace of acquaintance with it on the part of Clement of Rome or Clement of Alexandria.

On the other side, it is affirmed that all Greek MSS., except B and ℵ have the paragraph, for example, the codices ACDEGHKLMSUVX$\Gamma\Delta$; all evangelistaria, and all synaxaria. The ancient versions, too, including several copies of the old Italic, the Vulgate, the Peshito, the later Syriac, the Curetonian, and the Jerusalem

Syriac have it. It is sanctioned by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tatian, the author of the Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and others. Nestorius [1] quotes the twentieth verse.

Among internal considerations, it is alleged against the passage, that there is—

1. An incoherence between the ninth verse and what precedes. The words *early on the first of the week*[2] naturally belong to the participle *was risen*,[3] since the writer in describing the appearances of Jesus has no regard to time or place (compare 12, 14, 15, 19). Thus Jesus is said to have risen *early*, although the women who visited the sepulchre *very early* learned that he had risen *before* their visit (verse 4).

Again, *first*[4] connected with *appeared*[5] is unsuitable, because the appearance to Mary Magdalene was not the first. It is beside the mark to say with Robinson[6] that *first*[7] is put *relatively*, not *absolutely*, the first of the three appearances narrated by Mark.

2. The phraseology and style of the section are unfavourable to its authenticity. Phrases and words are introduced which Mark never uses; or terms for which he employs others. Thus for πρώτῃ σαββάτου (verse 9), Mark has the plural σαββάτων (xvi. 2); never the singular. Luke has the singular (xviii. 12). The phrase, *out of whom he had cast seven devils*, is attached to the name of Mary Magdalene, though she had been mentioned three times before without such appendix. It seems to have been taken from Luke viii. 2. Instead of ἐκβάλλειν ἀπό, Mark uses ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ (vii. 26). In the tenth and fourteenth verses there are sentences without a copulative; whereas Mark has always the copulative in such cases, particularly καί. The use of

[1] Ap. Cyril. Alex. vi. 46.
[2] πρωΐ πρώτῃ σαββάτου.
[3] ἀναστάς.
[4] πρῶτον.
[5] ἐφάνη.
[6] Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek, p. 232.
[7] πρῶτον.

ἐκεῖνος, in verses 10, 11, 13, synonymously with ὁ δέ (compare Mark iv. 11; vii. 15, 20; xii. 4, 5; xiv. 21), is peculiar. The verb πορεύεσθαι occurs three times in the section, though the evangelist never employs it elsewhere. Θεᾶσθαι is also unknown to Mark (ii. 14). So also ἀπιστεῖν (ii. 16). Μετὰ ταῦτα (12) is never employed by the evangelist. Μὲν and δὲ correspond in two members of a sentence (19, 20), which is but once in the gospel (xiv. 38), where the words of another person are cited. Ὁ Κύριος (19, 20) is unknown to Mark; so also are ἕτερος (12), παρακολουθέω, βλάπτω, πανταχοῦ, ἐπακολουθέω, συνεργέω, βεβαιόω. πᾶσα κτίσις is Pauline; and κόσμον ἅπαντα is peculiar. Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι (17), for ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (compare ix. 37, 41; xiii. 6), and χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπί τινα, instead of τινι (compare v. 23; vi. 5; vii. 32; viii. 23), deserve attention. Other peculiarities and ἅπαξ λεγόμενα may be accounted for by the new subject, e.g. γλώσσαις καιναῖς λαλεῖν, ὄφεις αἴρειν, θανάσιμον πίνειν, καλῶς ἔχειν, φανεροῦσθαι, μορφή, ὕστερον.

The style is abrupt and sententious, not graphic, resembling that of brief notices extracted from larger accounts and loosely combined.

3. The seventeenth and eighteenth verses contain suspicious circumstances—an excessive love of the miraculous. Miracles and the power of performing them are attributed to *all believers*. The handling of deadly serpents and the drinking of deadly poison with impunity, savour of superstition. The phrase, 'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved' (16), is also of a late type.

4. A new section begins with the ninth verse, as is shown by the note of time prefixed; but a note of time had been already introduced at the second verse of the chapter. The events recorded in the ninth and subsequent verses require no new section or note of time.

5. It is strange that when Mark had said that Jesus

should appear to the disciples in Galilee (xiv. 28, and xvi. 7), he makes no allusion to the fulfilment of the promise. Verses 15–18 refer to his appearance at Jerusalem.

6. The section contains parallels to passages in Luke and John, and is an excerpt from those gospels. This remark relates to verses 9–14.

It is difficult to decide between the conflicting evidence. The fact that Irenaeus,[1] and probably Justin Martyr,[2] had the portion before them in their copies of the gospel, is sufficient to outweigh the evidence of all MSS. which omit it, because they reach up to a much earlier time. Besides Irenaeus's attestation of the nineteenth verse, we have a still earlier one (for verses 15–19)[3] in the 'Acts of Pilate,' incorporated in the 'Gospel of Nicodemus.' But the relation of the *Acts* now known to the early work which Justin and Tertullian had, is too uncertain to admit of an argument being built upon it. That the piece in the 'Gospel of Nicodemus' was really found in the 'Acts of Pilate,' is shown by Tertullian in his 'Apologeticus' (21). Celsus also shows acquaintance with the paragraph when he says, 'Who saw this? A demented woman, as ye say,' —referring to Mary Magdalene, to whom Jesus first appeared, and out of whom he had cast seven demons (xvi. 9). The phraseology certainly differs from that of the rest of the gospel perceptibly. But the difference may be accounted for by the use of another source, which the evangelist chose to follow here, much more than Matthew or Luke—the Petrine narrative of Mark, to which Papias refers. It is difficult to believe that the writer could stop with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. No evangelist would do so; and therefore those who impugn the authenticity, have recourse to some sudden accident which prevented the evangelist from finishing properly.

[1] Adv. Haeres. iii. 10, 6. [2] Apol. i. 45.
[3] See Tischendorf's Evangelia Apocrypha, p. 243.

Such conjectures are gratuitous. The reason why the paragraph was omitted in many copies, is hinted at by Jerome,[1] Eusebius,[2] and others. Exegetical reasons led to it, since the difficulty of reconciling xvi. 9 with Matt. xxviii. 1 was palpable. The time in the second verse does not suit with that of the ninth, nor do the seventeenth and eighteenth verses agree with Matt. xxviii. 16–20. Such difficulties, as far as we can judge, led to its exclusion from many copies, especially Greek ones. That so many authorities, including the old Latin and Vulgate, have it, is good evidence that it was an original part of the gospel. The very difficulties inherent in it did not prevail to exclude it. If Eusebius and Jerome really believed that it is spurious, why did they resort to another method of solving the difficulties arising from the time of the resurrection specified there? Besides saying that it was absent from some or many copies, both give an additional solution, consisting in an alteration of the punctuation. One is sufficient, viz. that the paragraph is no part of the gospel. By resting in this, they would have saved themselves trouble and shown their true conviction. As it is, we can hardly tell what they actually believed. On the whole, the evidence is scarcely sufficient to prove the non-authenticity of the paragraph. This is true of the external and internal considered separately as well as conjointly. Great respect is due to the opinion of textual critics like Griesbach and Tischendorf, who are against the authenticity of the verses. But it cannot be denied that *the weight* of external evidence is on the other side. And as to the *internal*, it would certainly preponderate against Mark's own authorship. But when

[1] Omnibus Graeciae libris paene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, praesertim cum diversa atque contraria evangelistis caeteris narrare videatur.—*Ad Hedibiam*, Quaest. ii.

[2] Τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς (the verses in question) σπανίως ἔν τισιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι φερόμενα περιττὰ ἂν εἴη, καὶ μάλιστα εἴπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν, τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτυρίᾳ.—Quaest. i. *Ad Marinum.*

we consider that the gospel was not written till the second century, internal evidence loses much of its force against the authenticity. How persons who believe that the verses did not form a part of the original gospel of Mark but were added afterwards, can say that they have a good claim to be received as an authentic or genuine part of the second gospel, that is, a portion of canonical scripture, passes comprehension. If an unknown writer appended to the gospel a section containing difficulties which make its agreement with the evangelist's own statements all but impossible, how can he have been *plenarily inspired*, as Mark himself is said to have been? What becomes of his plenary inspiration in any case? Does the fact of his adding a portion to a gospel show his possession of the gift? Does it not rather show the reverse? It does not depend on the author's being known, that what he composes should be a proper part of the word of God. So some affirm. On what then *does* it depend? Either on the inspiration of the writer or of what is written. How is the inspiration of the writer shown? Only by what he writes. In the present case, the later author, as some believe, must have been inspired. Is that proved by the character of this portion? Is it proved by the fact, that whereas an inspired evangelist wrote i.–xvi. 9, a subsequent individual wrote a few verses at the end in an inferior style? Certainly not. Every view of the case shows the absurdity of maintaining that the verses before us are an authentic part of the gospel, equally authoritative with the rest of it, and yet believing that they proceeded from a different author.

PERSONS FOR WHOM THE EVANGELIST WROTE, AND HIS OBJECT IN COMPILING A GOSPEL.

The work is the production of a Jew, or of one intimately acquainted with Judea, and was intended for

Gentile believers. Hence localities in Palestine, as also Jewish usages and rites, are explained. Thus in i. 5: 'And there went out unto him all the land of Judea and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in *the river of* Jordan, confessing their sins;' for which the first gospel has, 'and were baptized of him *in Jordan*, confessing their sins' (iii. 6).

'*And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast;* and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast?' (ii. 18). Matthew wants the explanatory clause at the commencement.

'For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders' (vii. 3). Compare this with Matthew's words, 'Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread' (xv. 2).

'Then come unto him the Sadducees, *which say there is no resurrection*; and they asked him, saying,' &c. (xii. 18).

'And the first day of unleavened bread, *when they killed the passover*, his disciples,' &c. (xiv. 12).

'Now at that feast he released unto them one prisoner, whomsoever they desired' (xv. 6).

No passages are quoted in proof of the writer's position or to show the fulfilment of prophecy, except they be unavoidably introduced into the discourses of Jesus. Hence *νόμος*, *the law of Moses*, does not occur.

In the charge to the disciples, the words, 'Go not into the way of the Gentiles' (Matt. x. 5, 6), are omitted. In accordance with this view, explanations of words which would otherwise be unintelligible to Gentiles, are given, as *Talitha cumi*, *Boanerges*, *Corban*, *Bartimeus*, *Eloi lama sabacthani*, *Gehenna* (ix. 43).

Thus it appears that Gentiles were the readers for whom the gospel was written.

The object of the evangelist does not seem to have been a specific one, farther than it was conciliatory and neutral. He meant to instruct Gentile converts in the leading facts of Jesus's life on earth by giving, as far as possible, such a selection as might be acceptable, and avoiding doctrinal or controversial ground. Hence he has neither the narrow Jewish elements to be found in the gospel of Matthew, nor the specific Pauline elements of Luke's. His christology, indeed, has a tendency towards docetism, but not a decided one. Only once does he apply the expression *Son of David* to Jesus. Epiphanius says, with what truth we cannot determine, that the Docetaë preferred the second gospel to the rest.[1] Credner has correctly put the Clementine homilies by the side of Mark;[2] for although they never quote it, they presuppose its existence. Of the three places he specifies, one at least, Hom. iii. 57, is from Mark xii. 29.

STYLE AND DICTION.

The style is forcible, concise, abrupt.

1. *Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον* occurs eleven times; Luke uses it six times, and Matthew twice. The latter prefers phrases with *δαιμονιζόμενος*.

2. Diminutives are frequent, as *θυγάτριον*, *κοράσιον*, *κυνάριον*, *ὠτάριον*, *πλοιάριον*, *παιδίον*, *ἰχθύδιον*.

3. *Συμβούλιον ποιεῖν*, iii. 6; xv. 1. Matthew has *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν*.

4. *Ἐπερωτᾶν* occurs twenty-five times; Matthew has it eight times, and Luke eighteen.

5. *Διαστέλλεσθαι* five times; only once in Matthew.

6. *Εἰσπορεύεσθαι* eight times; Luke has it four times, and Matthew once.

7. *Ἐκπορεύεσθαι* eleven times; Matthew has it six times, and Luke three.

[1] Adv. Haeres. iii. 11, 7.

[2] Beiträge, vol. i. p. 300.

8. *Παραπορεύεσθαι* four times; Matthew once.

9. *Εὐαγγέλιον* occurs eight times; in Matthew four times.

10. *Περιβλέπεσθαι* six times; once in Luke.

11. *Πρωΐ* six times; twice in Matthew.

12. *Φέρειν* fourteen times; in Matthew and Luke four times each.

13. *Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, referring to the future resurrection of Christ (viii. 31; ix. 34 (?); x. 34); Matthew has it but once. He and Luke use instead *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*.

14. *Βλέπετε ἀπό*, viii. 15; xii. 38; Matthew and Luke have instead *προσέχετε ἀπό*.

15. *Ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ* is the prevailing usage of Mark. Only in two places has he *ἀπό*, the latter preposition being the most frequent one in Matthew, and perpetual in Luke, with two exceptions (ii. 1; vi. 19).

16. *Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης*, vi. 14; Matthew and Luke have *Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης*.

17. Mark accumulates negatives, as *οὐδείς*, twice, xvi. 8; *οὐκέτι οὐ μή*, xiv. 25; *μηδενὶ μηδέν*, i. 44; *οὐκ οὐδείς*, iii. 27; v. 37; vi. 5; xii. 14; xiv. 60, 61; xv. 4; *μηκέτι μηδέ*, ii. 2; *οὐκέτι οὐδείς*, v. 3; vii. 12; ix. 8; *μηκέτι μηδείς*, xi. 14; *μὴ μηδέ*, iii. 20.

18. He uses synonymous or tautological expressions, as in i. 42; ii. 19, 25; iii. 7, 8; iv. 6, 30, 39, 40; v. 12, 19, 23, 33; vi. 55, 56, &c. &c.

19. Mark strengthens expressions by appending their opposites, as in ii. 27; iii. 26, 29, &c. &c.

20. Pleonastic explanations or turns of expression are frequent, including the union of a compound verb with a simple one: i. 29; vi. 1; xiv. 16, 45; or two compounds from the same stem: i. 35; ii. 15; vi. 33; *ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ*, i. 25, 26, and *ἔξω*, xiv. 68; *ἐξήγαγεν ἔξω*, viii. 23; *ἐκπορεύειν ἔξω*, xi. 19; *τότε ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, ii. 20, &c.; *οὗτος οὕτως*, ii. 7; *οἷα τοιαύτη*, xiii. 19; *ἥς αὐτῆς*, vii. 25; *ἐκ παιδιόθεν*, ix. 21; *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν*, v. 6, viii. 3, &c.

21. In transitions εὐθέως is often employed, or εὐθύς which Tischendorf substitutes for it in many cases, i. 18, 21, 31, &c. Luke has the word but eight times, and sometimes employs παραχρῆμα instead.

22. The sentences are loosely connected by καὶ or πάλιν, as καὶ ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ εἰσῆλθε πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.

23. Mark interchanges the descriptive imperfect of narrative style for the historical present. The other evangelists use the aorist instead or ἰδού *behold*, i. 12, 40; ii. 3, 5, &c.

24. The following are peculiar to Mark among the synoptists: ἀββᾶ, ἀγρεύειν, ἀκάνθινος, ἀλαλάζειν, ἄλαλος, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀμφιβάλλειν, ἄμφοδος, ἁμάρτημα, ἀναθεματίζειν, ἄναλος, ἀναπηδᾶν, ἀναστενάζειν, ἀποβάλλειν, ἀπόδημος, ἀποπλανᾶν, ἀποστηγάζειν, ἀσφαλῶς, ἀτιμοῦν, αὐτόματος, ἀφρίζειν, ἀφροσύνη, βαπτισμός, βοανεργής, γναφεύς, δαμάζειν, διαγίνεσθαι, διασπᾶν, λέγειν ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ, δύσκολος, δωρεῖσθαι, εἰ in swearing, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐκπερισσῶς, ἔκφοβος, ἐλαύνειν, Ἐλωΐ, Ἑλληνίς, ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι, ἐνειλεῖν, ἔννυχον, ἐνταφιασμός, ἐξάπινα, ἑξαυτῆς, ἐξορύττειν, ἐξουδενεῖν, ἐξουδενοῦν, ἐπιβάλλειν neuter, ἐπιλύειν, ἐπιρράπτειν, ἐπισυντρέχειν, ἐσχάτως, εὔκαιρος, εὐκαίρως, εὐσχήμων, ἐφφαθά, ἡδέως, ἤφιεν (i. 34), θαμβεῖν, θαυμάζειν διά, θερμαίνεσθαι, θυγάτριον, θυρωρός, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, κακεῖθεν, κακολογεῖν, κατάβα, καταβαρύνειν (?), καταδιώκειν, κατακόπτειν, κατατιθέναι, κατευλογεῖν (?), κατοίκησις, κεντυρίων, κεφαλαιοῦν, κοῦμι, κράββατος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, κυλίεσθαι, κύπτειν, κωμόπολις, λευκαίνειν, μᾶλλον before a comparative, μεθόρια (?), μελετᾶν, μεγιστᾶνες, μηκύνειν, μισθωτός, μογιλάλος, μορφή, μυρίζειν, νάρδος, νουνεχῶς, ξέστης, ἐξηραμμένος, ὁδοποιεῖν, ὁλοκαύτωμα, ὅσπερ, ὅστις interrogative, ix. 11 (?), οὐά, ὄψιος an adjective, παιδιόθεν, πάμπολυς (?) πανταχόθεν, παραβάλλειν, παραδιδόναι neuter, παρόμοιος, περιτρέχειν, πιστικός, πλοιάριον, πρασιά, προαύλιον, προλαμβάνειν, προμεριμνᾶν, προσάββατον (?), προσεγγίζειν (?), προσκαρτερεῖν, προσκεφάλαιον, προσορμίζεσθαι, προσ-

πορεύεσθαι, προστρέχειν, πρύμνα, πτύειν, πυγμῇ, ῥαββουνί, ῥάπισμα, σκάνδαλον, σκώληξ, σμυρνίζειν, σπᾶσθαι, σπεκουλάτωρ, στασιαστής, στιβάς, στίλβειν, συγκαθῆσθαι, συλλυπεῖσθαι, συμπόσιον, συναναβαίνειν, συνθλίβειν, Συροφοινίκισσα, σύσσημον, συστασιαστής, ταλιθά, ταραχή, τηλαυγῶς, τρίζειν, τρυμαλιά (?), ὑπερηφανία, ὑπερπερισσῶς, ὑπολήνιον, ὑστέρησις, χαλκίον, ὥρα meaning hour of the day, ὠτάριον.[1]

On the whole, the diction of Mark possesses a more Aramaic colouring than Luke's, and approaches nearer that of Matthew; for, while he has forty-five words in common with the latter, he has only eighteen with the former.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

i. 2, 3 . . .	Malachi iii. 1; Isaiah xl. 3.
ii. 25, 26 . . .	1 Sam. xxi. 6.
iv. 12 . . .	Isaiah vi. 9.
vii. 6, 7 . . .	Isaiah xxix. 13.
vii. 10 . . .	Exodus xx. 12; xxi. 17.
ix. 44 . . .	Isaiah lxvi. 24.
x. 6	Genesis i. 27.
x. 7, 8 . . .	Genesis ii. 24.
x. 19 . . .	Exodus xx. 12–15.
xi. 9	Psalm cxviii. 25, 26.
xi. 17 . . .	Isaiah lvi. 7; Jerem. vii. 11.
xii. 10, 11 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 22, 23.
xii. 19 . . .	Deut. xxv. 5.
xii. 26 . . .	Exodus iii. 6.
xii. 29, 30 . . .	Deut. vi. 4.
xii. 31 . . .	Levit. xix. 18.
xii. 36 . . .	Psalm cx. 1.
xiii. 14 . . .	Daniel ix. 27.
xiv. 27 . . .	Zechariah xiii. 7.

General references are in the following:—

i. 44	Levit. xiv. 2.
x. 4	Deut. xxiv. 1.
xiii. 24 . . .	Isaiah xiii. 10.
xiv. 62 . . .	Daniel vii. 13.
xv. 34 . . .	Psalm xxii. 1.

[1] See Zeller's Theologische Jahrbücher, vol. ii. p. 448, *et seq.*

Seventeen of these quotations are common to Matthew and Mark, ten of which agree verbally. Four differ but little, viz. Mark vii. 10=Matt. xv. 4; Mark x. 7, 8=Matt. xix. 5; Mark xii. 29, 30=Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xv. 34=Matt. xxvii. 46. Three differ considerably—Mark iv. 12=Matt. xiii. 14, 15; Mark x. 19=Matt. xix. 18, 19; Mark xii. 19=Matt. xxii. 24. The evangelist's citations are all context ones, to speak after the rule of Bleek; i.e. they are not made by himself, but form portions of his narrative, and occur either in Christ's words or the words of persons addressing him. They are therefore from the LXX. Chap. i. 2 is from the Hebrew, which corresponds to Bleek's canon. But i. 3 is from the Greek, which is against it. There is a difficulty in the quotation or quotations in i. 2, 3, which prevents the critic from speaking confidently, because the one is from Mal. iii. 1, though introduced by 'written in Isaiah the prophet;' the other from Isai. xl. 3. But the former citation is also in Matt. xi. 10, and Luke vii. 27, whence Mark may have taken it, inserting 'the prophet Isaiah' by mistake. As to the interpretation, we do not approve of Lachmann's long parenthesis from *as it is written* to *his paths* inclusive, because it is unwarranted to say that 'John was the beginning of the gospel.' The first verse is an independent sentence, meaning 'the beginning of the gospel history of Jesus Christ the Son of God.'

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1846; Meyer, 1860; Olshausen, 1853; Fritzsche, 1830; Ewald, 1850; Barnes, 1843; Elsley, 1844.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

NOTICES OF TITUS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TITUS is not named in the Acts, though he was Paul's companion and fellow-labourer. A few fragmentary notices of him occur in the Pauline epistles only. He was of Gentile origin, both his parents being Greeks; and Paul would not allow him to be circumcised, though the Judaisers wished it. Probably he was a native of Antioch in Syria.

It is generally believed that he was converted through the apostle's instrumentality, because he is addressed as Paul's *own son* after the common faith (i. 4). That event took place before the council at Jerusalem, which was fourteen years after Paul's conversion.

When first noticed in the New Testament, he was with the apostle at Antioch, whom he accompanied to Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1, 2, 3). Perhaps he returned to Antioch with the other brethren. What motive led him subsequently to Ephesus, is not apparent. It is certain, however, that he was sent from Ephesus to Corinth (2 Cor. vii. viii. xii.) to observe the state of the church there, particularly the effect of Paul's letter to the Corinthians. After the apostle had left Ephesus, Titus was expected at Troas. Having met Paul in Macedonia, he was despatched with the second epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17, 23). He appears next at Rome; from which city he went to Dalmatia, according to the second epistle to Timothy.

It is difficult to fix his Cretan visit; and the last part of his life is obscure. Tradition makes him the first bishop of Crete, where he is said to have died at an advanced age.

INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL INTO CRETE.

Philo intimates that there were many Jews in Crete. Some of them appear to have embraced Christianity as early as the day of Pentecost; and these returning may have made their countrymen acquainted with the truth. Paul visited Crete on his voyage to Rome; but the author of the Acts says nothing about the planting of Christianity in the place. The epistle represents the apostle's labours in Crete as most successful, supposing that he and Titus were there together; but *when* it is not told. Hence, we are completely in the dark as to the introduction of Christianity into the island.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The time and place of composition must be fixed by conjecture. Paul's supposed voyage to Crete has to be inserted in the interval between his leaving Ephesus, and his passing through Macedonia the second time (Acts xx. 1–3). The writing of the letter has to be put in the same period; but where, is uncertain. We shall show hereafter, that the epistle was not written during the eighteen months' stay at Corinth, mentioned in Acts xviii. 1–18; nor in Ephesus, either at the time of Acts xviii. 19, or the three years' abode there (Acts xix. 1–41); nor in Greece (Acts xx. 2), nor at Troas or Nicopolis (Acts xx. 2, 3, 6). If the apostle was released from imprisonment at Rome he may have written it then; but that release is historically baseless. The composition of the letter must be put after the apostle's death.

CONTENTS.

The epistle may be divided into three parts: the introduction i. 1–4; the body, containing a variety of instructions, i. 5–iii. 11; and the conclusion, iii. 12–15. The second may be subdivided into various paragraphs: i. 5–9; 10–16; ii. 1–iii. 7; 8–11.

1. The inscription and salutation are contained in the first four verses.

2. The writer reminds Titus of the reason why he was left in Crete, viz. to set the church in order and appoint elders in every city. He proceeds to describe the character of a bishop in words closely resembling the directions given to Timothy on the same subject. Among other qualifications, he must maintain the established truths of the gospel, and have ability to convince or silence opposers; for there are many disorderly persons and deceivers, especially Judaisers, who overturn whole families, teaching improper things through covetousness. The Cretans had a bad reputation. One of their poets had described them as notoriously addicted to lying, luxury, and infamous lusts. The apostle enjoins Titus to use due severity in reproving them; and particularly to keep them from the doctrine of the Judaising Gnostics. All kinds of meat and drink, he says, are pure to the pure in heart; but the heart and conscience of the unbelieving are defiled. They have a theoretical knowledge of God, yet they lead wicked lives (i. 5–16).

Titus is exhorted to teach things agreeable to sound doctrine, that elder persons of both sexes should act in a manner becoming the dignity of age and the obligations of Christians; and that the young should behave well, lest the word of God be dishonoured. He is to advise young men in particular to be sober-minded, at the same time showing a pattern of good works in his own person; setting forth pure doctrine; using sound

speech that the adversary might be confounded, having no ground of accusation against him. He is to exhort slaves to be obedient to their masters with patience, meekness, and fidelity, that they might recommend the Christian religion; for the grace of God, says the writer, has appeared to all men, freemen and slaves, Jews and Gentiles, teaching them to practise universal holiness while they wait for the blessed appearing of Jesus Christ, the Saviour who offered himself a ransom for all, to make them zealous of good works.

The evangelist is to remind Christians to be submissive to civil rulers; to speak evil of none, especially of magistrates, but to be gentle and meek. To enforce this, the author intimates that such as were then believers, were formerly foolish, disobedient, and wicked; and when the love of God the Saviour appeared, they were not saved by righteous deeds, but by His own mercy and the renewing of the Holy Spirit, whose influences were abundantly shed upon them that they might become heirs of the hope of eternal life.

The doctrine thus asserted is infallibly true, and Titus is bound to affirm it constantly in order that believers may carefully maintain good works. But he must avoid foolish questions, genealogies, and disputed points about the law, because of their unprofitableness. He that asserts corrupt doctrine is to be rejected, because he is perverse and self-condemned.

3. A few personal notices form the conclusion. Among other particulars, Titus is ordered to provide suitable things for Zenas and Apollos on their journey, and to press the Cretans to be generous on all such occasions. After salutations from himself and those with him, the writer concludes with a benediction (iii. 8–11).

OBJECT.

The epistle originated in the wish that Titus should come to the apostle before winter, after he had organised the church and combated false teachers.

ADAPTATION OF CONTENTS TO THE OBJECT.

There is some incongruity between the contents and the author's supposed situation.

The way in which the Cretan converts are spoken of is not Pauline. Instead of alluding to them in terms of commendation for their ready acceptance of the gospel, they are characterised harshly on the testimony of another. It is true that the apostle did not write to themselves, but to Titus, in this manner; yet that does not alter the spirit evinced, besides the example it gave to Titus. And how did the apostle know the false teachers against whom he warns Titus? He himself was but a short time in the island. False teachers could hardly have appeared during his stay. Christianity had made some progress before the errorists showed activity, so that Paul had left the island. Hence Titus, who remained behind, knew what they were much better than one who had not seen them. The apostle speaks about what he did not know, to one that did know. The instructions given to Titus respecting church officers also imply the existence of Christianity in the island for a considerable period. A bishop should have Christian children. His qualifications for the office are chiefly external or moral, as if Titus were in danger of appointing persons whose character was blamable. Instead of implying a nascent state of Christianity and ecclesiastical order, they suppose doctrinal knowledge and Christian instruction.

The epistle generally is so vague and indefinite in its statements, that it could have been of little use to

Titus. Had it contained specific instructions respecting the mode of combating and refuting the heretics, or presented general principles in their application to the circumstances of the evangelist, its relevancy would be apparent. But commonplaces and the enforcement of practical Christianity are frequent—things which Titus himself did not need, else his long association with Paul had been of little benefit to him. A bishop is to hold fast the 'faithful word,' and to maintain 'sound doctrine;' what these expressions imply is not described. Titus should exhort young men to be sober-minded; was this precept necessary for *him*? He is commanded to avoid foolish questions, &c. &c., but the nature of the questions is unnoticed, and how they are foolish is not specified. The pointlessness of the directions must have made them all but worthless to an evangelist.

AUTHENTICITY.

The authenticity of the epistle will be considered along with that of the two to Timothy. It was first distinctly denied by Eichhorn, following up the critical method of Schleiermacher in relation to the first letter to Timothy.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

NOTICES OF TIMOTHY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE NEW TESTAMENT furnishes but a few notices of Timothy's public life. He was a native of Derbe in Lycaonia, his father being a Greek and his mother a Jewess. The latter instructed him early in the Old Testament Scriptures. Both her name and that of his grandmother are mentioned. When Paul came from Antioch in Syria, the second time to Lystra, he found this youthful disciple; and as the Christians at Lystra and Derbe spoke well of him, recommending him to the confidence of the Gentile missionary, the latter took him for his assistant. It is not certain whether he was converted by the apostle at his first visit to Lystra and Derbe, though it is probable from expressions applied to him (1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 17). We therefore refer his conversion to the time specified in Acts xiv. 6, when Paul and Barnabas visited Derbe and Lystra.

After he became companion to the apostle (Acts xvi. 3), he rendered important service in the cause of the gospel, and was greatly beloved for his fidelity, affection, and zeal. The intimacy subsisting between them was of the best kind—the master regarding the disciple with affectionate solicitude; the disciple looking up to the spiritual father with all respect. After being circumcised, and set apart to the work of an evangelist by the elders of the church at Lystra, who laid their hands

on him along with the apostle, he travelled with the latter to Macedonia by Troas. Being left at Berea he joined Paul again at Athens, and was sent thence to Thessalonica. From Thessalonica he went to Corinth, and assisted the apostle there (Acts xviii. 5; 1 Thess. iii. 6). Subsequently he was again at Ephesus (Acts xix. 22), whence he was despatched into Macedonia and Achaia before the apostle took his second journey from Ephesus into those regions (Acts xix. 22; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10). When the second epistle to the Corinthians was written, he was with Paul in Macedonia. At a later period, when the epistle to the Romans was composed at Corinth, Timothy was with the writer. On Paul's return through Macedonia, Timothy went before him to Troas (Acts xx. 5). Whether he accompanied him to Jerusalem and Rome or followed him thither, is uncertain; but he is mentioned in the epistles written at Rome (Phil. i. 1; Coloss. i. 1; Philem. 1). Ecclesiastical tradition makes him first bishop of Ephesus, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom under Domitian or Nerva. It is not easy to understand the circumstances alluded to in the epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 23), or the time of the occurrence indicated. Some even dispute the fact that the person mentioned there is identical with Paul's companion.

TIME AND PLACE AT WHICH THE EPISTLE WAS WRITTEN.

The writer indicates that he was a prisoner at Rome. And some circumstances favour the idea that he was in the state of captivity described in Acts xxviii. 17, &c., during which he wrote to the Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon; for he was fastened to a soldier by a chain (Acts xxviii. 20), to which he refers in the second letter to Timothy (i. 16). At Rome he dwelt in a hired house, and received all that came to him, which agrees with 2 Tim. iv. 21, where salutations are sent from

various persons. There was thus free access to him when he wrote. Luke too was with him, who is mentioned in the letters to the Colossians and Philemon. The exhortation to shun youthful lusts was also more suitable then than afterwards. Had twelve or fifteen years elapsed since Timothy's conversion, he could scarcely have been addressed after this fashion. But the similarity of situation belonging to the author, which is seen in the acknowledged epistles of the Roman captivity and the second to Timothy, is marred by dissimilarity. In the epistles to Philemon and the Philippians, he expresses a hope of speedy release, and even desires Philemon to prepare a lodging (Phil. ii. 24; Philem. 22). Yet when he wrote this epistle, he was treated as a malefactor (ii. 9), and his prospects were gloomy. He expected daily to fall a victim to the vengeance of enemies (iv. 6–8). All his friends were scattered, and only Luke was with him. There is also no account of his public appearance or defence before the emperor, in the Acts; though it had taken place shortly before the writing of the present letter. Above all, Timothy and Mark are absent (2 Tim. iv. 9, 11); though they were present when the epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians were composed. We may indeed conjecture that they followed the apostle to Rome, left him to go on different missions, and were still absent when the second to Timothy was written; but the conjecture is improbable. We shall show afterwards, that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of believing that the letter was composed at any period of the first captivity at Rome, which is tantamount to saying that it was not written by Paul, a second imprisonment being imaginary.

CONTENTS.

The epistle scarcely admits of formal division. The following seems the most pertinent: an introduction,

i. 1–5; various exhortations and encouragements, i. 6–iv. 8; a request to come to Rome as soon as possible, accompanied by various particulars in the way of information, commissions, and salutations for the brethren in Asia Minor, iv. 9–22.

1. The introduction contains an assertion of the writer's apostleship, which was instituted for announcing the promise of eternal life. He expresses his affectionate concern for Timothy, assuring him that he prayed continually for his welfare, remembered his tears at parting, and longed greatly to see him (i. 1–5).

2. He exhorts the evangelist to be diligent and active in the exercise of the gifts he received at ordination, since God had not given Christians fear of difficulty or danger, but the spirit of power, love, and a sound mind. Hence he is not to be ashamed of sufferings, nor of association with Paul a prisoner, but to be partaker of afflictions by virtue of the power of God, who calls and saves all Christians according to His eternal purpose, accomplished in the appearance of Jesus Christ, who took away the power of death, and had appointed him to publish these glad tidings. Hence the writer suffers willingly, persuaded that he shall not lose his reward. He exhorts Timothy to retain the form of sound doctrine, and to keep the sacred trust inviolable (i. 6–14).

He reminds the evangelist that all the Christians of Asia Minor had left him; but mentions the steady attachment of Onesiphorus who had lately visited him, for which the grateful writer prays that God would abundantly reward him (i. 15–18).

He presses Timothy earnestly to steadfastness, and to teach the doctrine he had received to men who should faithfully commit it to others; to act and suffer like one who had devoted himself wholly to the work of an evangelist, for he must first labour and suffer, before expecting a reward. He refers him to the resurrection of Jesus Christ, his own example, and the Christian hope,

according to which they that are dead with Christ shall live with him, and they that suffer shall reign with him. Timothy is to remind the teachers of Christianity of the folly of striving about words and names; while he must watch his own teachings, and shun empty fables destructive of the spirit of piety, as appeared in the case of Hymeneus and Philetus, who asserted that the resurrection was past. But genuine Christians stand fast, their discipleship being known by a divine test. In the Church there are true believers, as well as teachers of error; and till a man purge himself from communion with false teachers and their follies, he is not fit for the Master's use. To keep himself free, Timothy is exhorted to avoid youthful lusts, to follow righteousness, faith, charity, and peace; to shun foolish, unlearned questions. He must not dispute with, but oppose heretics with patience and lenity, that he may reclaim some, if possible (ii. 1–26).

The evangelist is informed that perilous times should come, marked by the appearance of men of the vilest character, pretending to virtue, but having none. Such were those who crept into houses and led away the weak whom they pretended to instruct. These men resisted the truth, as the magicians of Egypt withstood Moses (iii. 1–9). In contrast with them, he commends Timothy for following his doctrine, and copying the fidelity, charity, and patience he had observed in him, and had seen plain evidences of in the sufferings undergone; a treatment all must expect who will be faithful in persecution. But impostors grow more degenerate to avoid suffering. He recommends to his disciple the study of the Old Testament, with which he had been early acquainted, to which he is to add faith in Christ Jesus (10–17). Having such helps, he is solemnly charged, by the prospect of the final judgment, to use the greatest diligence in promoting the truth, and in opposing present, as well as preventing future, corrup-

tions. For such should certainly arise. The time approached when Christians would not endure sound doctrine, but listen to every one offering instruction, however false his pretensions. There was therefore need for him to be vigorous, like a faithful evangelist, especially considering that his father in the gospel was so near death. And as the mention of this fact seemed likely to discourage Timothy, the apostle speaks of the faith and hope that formed his present solace (iv. 1–8).

3. The writer begs of Timothy to hasten to Rome because all his attendants had forsaken him except Luke, calling at Troas on his way, and bringing with him some books which had been left there. He is warned against Alexander, who had been Paul's enemy. All friends had forsaken the writer, at his first public defence. But he was divinely delivered from imminent peril, that he might finish his work; and doubts not that he shall be preserved from every deed he might be led to commit through want of steadfastness, and be conducted into the heavenly kingdom (9–18).

He salutes some of the Christians, and informs Timothy of the circumstances of others. After mentioning the greetings of several believers at Rome, he concludes with a benediction (19–22).

AGREEMENT OF CONTENTS WITH THE WRITER'S PURPOSE.

The object of the letter was to bring Timothy to Rome, as stated in iv. 9. Along with this are various instructions and admonitions, some of which at least are unsuitable. The evangelist is supposed to be one so inexperienced as to require a warning against youthful lusts, and so ignorant as to be told the use of Holy Scripture. He is reminded, by way of encouragement, of his pious education, and is treated as a tyro, being told that Paul was appointed as a teacher of the Gentiles. The allusion in iii. 11 to Acts xiii. 50; xiv. 2,

7, 19 is inappropriate, because, as Eichhorn observes, the apostle would not have mentioned only the persecutions of which Timothy had not been an eye-witness, but the far more cruel ones to which he was subjected at Philippi, at Thessalonica, and at Jerusalem. There is also some inconsistency between iii. 1, &c. 13, and iii. 9, for it is declared in the former, that evil men and seducers should become worse and worse; whereas in iii. 9, 'they shall proceed no farther.' We do not speak of the disjointed character of the epistle; for this may be explained consistently with Pauline authorship; but there is enough besides to excite the strongest suspicions. Was it needful to tell Timothy to 'continue in the things he had learned;' to 'do the work of an evangelist,' 'to be apt to teach'? Is not poverty of thought and diction shown in the repetition, 'The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus' (i. 16), and 'The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day' (i. 18)? Most of the exhortations are commonplace. We believe, therefore, that the contents are unsuitable to the persons and circumstances. Had Paul been writing a last letter to Timothy, requesting him to come quickly to Rome, he would not have interspersed so many obvious admonitions, but have dwelt in preference upon one or two great principles. And why send for him at all, when it was very uncertain if he should live to see him? Ready to be offered up, the apostle did not need another's presence for comfort. His own soul was full of strength.

AUTHENTICITY.

This will be considered along with that of the other two epistles, for all three must either be of Pauline authorship or not.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

TIME OF WRITING.

IT WILL be shown hereafter that the epistle was not written soon after Paul had left Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19) in Phrygia or Galatia; nor on the way to Macedonia, or at some place in it (Acts xx. 1, 2); nor in Macedonia during a visit not recorded in the Acts, which took place after his second arrival at Ephesus; nor while he was in captivity at Caesarea; nor in a supposed second imprisonment at Rome. The difficulties of these hypotheses have proved great to such as assume the authenticity of the epistle; and are still likely to remain barriers in the way of it.

A comparison of the letter with the acknowledged Pauline ones, either with the earlier to the Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians; or the later to the Colossians and Philippians, shows a different condition of the Christian Church. In the one case we see its nascent form, in the other a more settled order. In the one, the Church was still in a transition state; in the other it had 'the form of sound words' and a developed ecclesiastical organisation. Hence most critics incline to a late date. To get an early one by inserting the work somewhere in the history of the Acts seems to clash with the general tone of the letter, which is historically intelligible only in case of a late date, because the polemics directed against the false teachers show that they had appeared as open advocates of erroneous tenets for some time.

The state of the Ephesian church as seen from the epistle, with its well-developed organisation, indicates the lapse of a considerable period since its origin. Emoluments were attached to offices; and false teachers, different from the Judaisers with whom Paul contended, errorists who held Gnostic views, had made an impression on the church. This requires a considerable time.

In the first epistle, the same persons, doctrines, and practices are censured as in the second. The same commands, instructions, and encouragements are given to Timothy in both. The same remedy for the corruptions which had taken place among the Ephesians, are prescribed in them. As in the second so in the first, everything is addressed to Timothy as superintendent. This implies that the state of things among the Ephesians was similar when the two epistles were written. Accordingly the first and second were written not far from each other, apparently not long before the apostle's death.

OBJECT.

The leading object of the letter was to counteract the false teachers who had appeared at Ephesus, and to instruct Timothy how to manage the affairs of the church. The evangelist is enjoined to charge some that they must teach none other than apostolic doctrine, and to counteract every injurious influence.

Do the contents agree with this object? They do not, in the opinion of De Wette. And he is partly right. The directions respecting the false teachers are vague. They themselves are not described in definite colours; nor are their opinions clearly stated, except in iv. 3. Sometimes they are spoken of as future, sometimes as present. The writer turns away from them to Timothy himself, then comes back to them, and soon digresses again. In an epistle to a familiar friend it is unreasonable to look for systematic arrangement of

materials or logical connection. We expect the freedom and familiarity of the epistolary style. But that ought not to prevent direct and valuable counsels; nor obviate the need of advice expressly counteracting the false doctrines taught by the heretics. The evangelist required special directions in the critical circumstances he was placed in—directions which would go to the root of the questions which the heretics agitated to the detriment of the church. These are not given. As the heretics are referred to in general terms, the way in which Timothy was to deal with them is described as vaguely. The qualifications of church-officers are indeed stated at length; but that subject was easily understood. The evangelist must have known of himself the moral qualifications of elders and other office-bearers. The 5th chapter is the most valuable and appropriate, though not free from perfunctory exhortations. And then Timothy himself is addressed as a novice, who is to keep himself pure, and to use a little wine for health's sake. On the whole, the letter is not well adapted to its leading purpose, because it is vague, general, discursive. The directions often want point, pertinence, and value. What would have benefited Timothy most is withheld; what would have served him least is given, unless we believe that his Christian knowledge was so elementary, and his principles so feeble as to need admonitions against the love of money, and the foolish lusts it induces. Exhortations to seize hold of eternal life, not to neglect the gift he had received, and to meditate upon the precepts given him, were superfluous to him.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

As no systematic arrangement is observable in the epistle, the same topics being introduced at different places without any apparent reason for the abruptness

with which they occur, it is difficult to discover the proper connection and sequence of parts. The order of topics is often perplexing, creating no small difficulty in interpretation. Perhaps the letter cannot be divided more conveniently than into six parts, coinciding with its six chapters.

(1) i. 3–20; (2) ii. 1–15; (3) iii.; (4) iv.; (5) v.; (6) vi.

After the inscription and salutation the writer reminds Timothy of the commission he had been left to execute at Ephesus, viz. to oppose the false teachers, warning them to abide by apostolic doctrine, to give no attention to idle and puerile superstitions which promote contention, but to keep in view godly edification. The end of the divine law is kindness; from which such as turn aside involve themselves and others in irritating disputes, while they pretend to be teachers of the law. The law was not meant for those who seek salvation through faith in Christ, but for such as continue in sin. That it was not made to fetter the righteous, but the disobedient, accords with the gospel of which Paul had been made a preacher even after he had been a persecutor—a thing he could not think of without the greatest gratitude. But because he acted in ignorance, he was mercifully pardoned—an example of Christ's long-suffering, that future sinners might not be discouraged. The author then breaks out into a strain of praise to God. He reminds Timothy that he had committed a work to him agreeably to certain divine indications respecting his future fidelity; and he did not doubt that he would keep a pure faith and good conscience, though some had made shipwreck of both, particularly Hymeneus and Alexander, whom the apostle had solemnly excommunicated (i. 3–20).

2. He gives directions about public worship, prescribing intercession for all men, especially for kings and persons in authority. For God himself wills that all

should be saved. There is one and the same God for all; one and the same Mediator, who died for all. The mention of Christ's ransom leads him to speak of his own commission as an apostle of the Gentiles. He wishes that men should offer public prayer in every place of assembling, with holiness and charity; that the women should wear decent and modest apparel, abstaining from finery and ornament, their chief glory being good works. Women should learn, but never teach in the church; and be always in subjection, since the woman was created for the man, and led the man into transgression. Notwithstanding this inferior position and her helping to mislead the man, he intimates that the way of salvation is open to her through motherhood (ii.).

3. The writer now describes the qualifications and character of office-bearers in the church. In coveting an office so good, a bishop should be blameless, only once married, vigilant, sober, moderate, hospitable, capable of teaching, not addicted to wine, no striker, not covetous, not a brawler, patient, ruling his household well, not a recent convert to Christianity lest he should grow proud. He should also have a good name in society. Deacons are also described, who should be proved by time. Deaconesses should be grave, not slanderers, sober and faithful in all their relations. The deacons should be once married, and good rulers of their families; for those who conduct themselves well in the office obtain a good degree in blessedness, and great confidence in the faith (iii. 1–13). The next three verses form an appendix to the preceding, in which the author informs Timothy that he had written to him, expecting to visit him shortly; that the evangelist might know how to conduct himself in the church, which is the pillar and ground of truth. With this is loosely connected a sentence respecting the Logos, who was manifested in the flesh (iii. 14–16).

4. He returns to the false teachers of whom he had spoken in the 1st chapter, but hints that they are future rather than present. The spirit of prophecy predicted that some should apostatise from the faith, advocating doctrines of demoniacal origin; hypocritical, lying speakers, with the mark of guilt burnt in their consciences. These pernicious heretics prohibit marriage, enjoin abstinence from flesh, and practise asceticism. In refuting their second error, the author asserts that every creature of God fit for eating is good, and not to be refused. Timothy is warned against erroneous doctrine; rejecting childish tales in religion, and occupying himself with spiritual purity rather than outward sanctity sought through bodily mortifications. He is reminded that bodily penance is of no avail; but that true godliness has a blessing in both worlds. The apostle laboured and was reproached because he trusted in God the Saviour of all. These things Timothy ought to teach, and to behave so that no man might despise his youth. He was to be an example to the Christians; improving his spiritual gifts by study, and recommending the doctrine he taught (iv.).

5. Timothy's prudence should appear in entreating aged persons in a filial manner to comply with their duties; in dealing with young men in the spirit of affectionate familiarity; in treating the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity. He is to see that widows friendless and desolate, should be provided for. Such of them as have children or nephews are to be maintained by the latter; such as are wholly desolate ought to trust in God; but she that lives in pleasure is dead to the cause of Christ. The writer then passes to the selection of widows for the office of female elders. They are not to be chosen under sixty, having been married but once, and well spoken of. Younger widows are disqualified; for when they become wanton they will marry again. Hence they are spoken

of severely. They are therefore to marry again, that they may bear children, and bring no reproach on Christianity. Should any have widows related to them otherwise than as mothers or aunts, such are to support them without applying to the church for relief. The elders who rule well and teach deserve a double portion. Timothy is to listen to no accusation against an elder unless it could be proved before two or three witnesses. Respecting discipline generally, notorious sinners are to be rebuked publicly. In receiving back the excommunicated he is warned against rashness and haste. And that he might be a proper censor of others he is directed to be free himself from inordinate enjoyments; but without countenancing asceticism (v. 1–23). The last two verses contain remarks about different ways of discovering the true character of men (24, 25).

6. He enjoins Christian slaves to remain faithful to their heathen masters, lest reproach be brought on the cause of Christ. Christian masters being brethren are to be treated with all the more respect. Should the heretics inculcate aught but the true doctrine, they are censured in direct terms by the apostle as ignorant, fond of disputation, and falling in with the prejudices of their hearers, counting that to be godliness which brings them most gain. In opposition to such, he declares that godliness with contentment is indeed great gain; but the love of riches leads to destruction. This exhortation to contentment, meant to cheer Timothy himself as we see from vi. 11–16, is resumed at the seventeenth verse. The evangelist is to remind the rich of their obligations to be generous, that they may obtain an everlasting inheritance. The writer concludes with an allusion to the false teachers, enjoining Timothy to avoid their idle dreams; and with a benediction.

AUTHENTICITY.

The first scholar in modern times who made a formal attack on the authenticity of this epistle was Schleiermacher. Many have followed, because they see that most of his arguments are valid. His acuteness has led to some exaggeration of the inherent defects; but the substance of his remarks is accepted by the ablest critics, as De Wette and Baur. It is best to discuss the authenticity of the three letters together.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

The authenticity of the epistles is connected with two subjects, viz. the historical credibility of Paul's second imprisonment, and their probable date within the part of his life covered by the Acts. The following is a summary of the evidence in favour of Paul's second imprisonment.

Clement of Rome is the most important and ancient authority. He is quoted in favour of a journey which the apostle made to Spain, and therefore for a second imprisonment. The passage bearing on the point occurs in the fifth chapter of his epistle to the Corinthians.

'Through envy Paul also obtained the reward of patience, after wearing bonds seven times, after being scourged and stoned. Having preached the gospel both in the east and west, he received the glorious renown due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the boundary of the west, and having borne his testimony before the rulers. Thus he departed out of the world, and went his way to that holy place, after exhibiting in his person the greatest pattern of patience.'[1]

[1] Διὰ ζῆλον [καὶ ὁ] Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἐπέσχ[εν], ἑπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, [παι]δευθείς, λιθασθείς. κῆρυξ [γενό]μενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνα-

This passage has given rise to much discussion, especially as the language is not precise or definite. Having a rhetorical cast it was intended for popular effect, and is exaggerated. The two disputed phrases are 'before the governors' and, 'the boundary of the west.' The former has been restricted to individuals, either to Helius and Polycletus who governed Rome during Nero's absence; or to the prefects Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus. Probably it alludes to the persons in power at Rome—the Roman authorities generally, not excluding the emperor. The latter phrase is more difficult, *the boundary of the west.* Does this mean Illyricum, or the extreme boundary of the west as distinguished from its interior; or Italy generally, including Rome; or Spain? The first two explanations are unnatural; and the participle *having come* is unfavourable to Spain. Clement, writing from Rome, should have said *having gone*, not *having come.* Besides, as Mr. Tate has observed: 'East and west are relative terms, which can only be understood by ascertaining the point of reference in the mind of the speaker; as that again must be determined by knowing him and his notions on the subject, the notions also of the persons addressed, and even those of the parties who are the subjects of discourse. Keeping all this in mind, we may fairly ask, when Clement himself, more an eastern than a western, writes concerning Paul, whose chief labours had lain in the east, to the Corinthians, whose position naturally gave them an eastward inclination, would those Corinthians, on reading the passage here exhibited, without any significant hint from the context, discover in the words [to the end of the west], that not imperial Rome, but some obscure spot in remote Spain, was then intended? All

τολῇ καὶ ἐν [τῇ] δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, κα[ὶ ἐπὶ] τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων· οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

circumstances fully taken into consideration, I affirm that they could not so understand the language of Clement: nor if such had been his meaning in writing to them, could he ever have left it in words of such inevitable uncertainty. Spain was very little likely to be known or thought of on the coasts of the Aegean sea; Rome must have formed the limit of their general acquaintance with the west.'[1] Again, the three successive clauses, 'thus he left the world,' 'having borne his testimony before the rulers,' 'having come to the boundary of the west,' are each connected with its predecessor, and refer apparently to the same locality. If the first alludes to his death at Rome, the others point to the place of that death. The writer affirms of the apostle, that after preaching in the east and west he obtained the glorious renown due to his faith. Repeating the idea, he says that Paul taught righteousness to the whole world, i.e. to the east and west. Then to explain more particularly the reception of the renown due to his faith, Clement proceeds to say that having come to the boundary of the west, and having borne witness before the rulers (there), he left the world. Thus the locality of the testimony before rulers is included in that denoted by the limit of the west. The boundary of the west is the western part of the empire generally, the expression being rhetorical.

It is scarcely admissible to confine the author's language to a definite locality, since it is hyperbolical. He who says of Paul that he 'taught righteousness to the whole world,' does not express himself with that precision which warrants us to interpret 'the boundary of the west' of a specific place. If he thought of such it was Rome; if not, he meant the west generally, including Italy and Rome.

Eusebius did not understand Clement's words of

[1] Continuous History of St. Paul, pp. 178, 179.

Spain, for the historian has, 'There is a report,'[1] without appealing to Clement's authority. It is hardly possible that he was ignorant of Clement's epistle. That the limit of the west means or includes Britain is still more improbable than its allusion to Spain.

The reference to a journey into Spain is more definite in the Muratorian fragment on the canon. But the mutilated state of the text detracts from the value of the witness. Speaking of the Acts of the Apostles written by Luke, the unknown author says, 'But the acts of all the apostles were written in one book. Luke relates to the excellent Theophilus the things that fell under his own notice, as he also evidently declares by omitting the martyrdom of Peter, and the departure of Paul, setting out from the city to Spain.'[2]

The interpretation of this passage must be obscure as long as the text is corrupt. All admit that it needs emendation, and according to the character of the emendation will be the sense attached to it. A word or words are wanting at the end; it may be 'omittit,' *omits*, which agrees best with the preceding *but* (but omits the journey of Paul to Spain). Or the ellipsis may be supplied so as to make the writer state, that the last journey of Paul was omitted by Luke. In any case, the fragmentist is a witness for Paul's journey to Spain; but in his time the tradition about Peter shows that any credible account of Paul's death, if such there were at Rome, had disappeared.

No writer prior to the fourth century mentions the apostle's release from captivity. Eusebius writes: 'After

[1] λόγος ἔχει.

[2] Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophile (optimo Theophilo) comprendit quia (quae) sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.

pleading his cause, he is said to have departed again on the ministry of preaching, and, after a second visit to the same city, he finished his life with martyrdom. While he was a prisoner he wrote his second epistle to Timothy, in which he both mentions his first defence and his impending exaltation to glory. Hear on these points his own testimony respecting himself: "At my first defence none was present with me, but all deserted me. May it not be laid to their charge. But the Lord was with me and strengthened me, that through me the preaching of the gospel might be fulfilled, and all the nations might hear it." He plainly sets forth in these words, "On the former occasion I was rescued from the lion's mouth, that the preaching of the gospel might be accomplished," that it was Nero to whom he referred by this expression, as is probable on account of his cruelty. Therefore he did not subsequently append any such expression as, "he will rescue me from the lion's mouth," for he saw, in spirit, how near his approaching death was. Hence after the expression, "and I was rescued from the lion's mouth," this also, "the Lord will rescue me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom," indicating the approaching martyrdom. . . . . Thus much we have said to show, that the apostle's martyrdom did not take place at that period of his stay at Rome when Luke wrote his history.'[1]

Several points in this paragraph demand attention.

First. Eusebius seems to have had no historical ground for his opinion. He quotes no preceding writer. He states it as *a report* or *saying* that the apostle set out from Rome again.

Secondly. In another place, in which the historian enumerates the parts of the world where the apostles preached, he says, 'Why should we speak of Paul

[1] Hist. Eccles. ii. 22.

spreading the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom at Rome under Nero? This account is given by Origen, in the third book of his "Exposition of Genesis."' Hence we conclude that Origen knew nothing of a second captivity.

Thirdly. Eusebius appeals to the second epistle to Timothy in confirmation of his view. Perhaps it was nothing more than an historical hypothesis, adopted for the purpose of explaining the difficulties in that epistle. Schrader and Goeschen attribute the conjecture to the historian's desire of reconciling his false chronology, which places Paul's arrival at Rome in the first year of Nero's reign, with the fact of the apostle's death at the end of it. In his 'Chronicon,' he makes Festus succeed Felix as governor of Judea in the year of Claudius's death (A.D. 54), and places the beginning of the Roman captivity in the spring of 55. But Paul's martyrdom is assigned to the thirteenth of Nero (A.D. 67). Hence if the apostle were not released, twelve years' residence in Rome must be accounted for. The historian seized on the floating tradition, not only to help the solution of difficulties in the second epistle to Timothy, but to make his chronology consistent. This hypothesis is probable.

It is useless to quote the testimonies of Jerome, Euthalius, Chrysostom and others, since they are resolvable into that of Eusebius. After the historian, several particulars were added to the tradition, which soon became general. But it was not universal. An itinerary of the apostle Paul is prefixed to the Euthalian edition of the Acts, containing no second imprisonment. Primasius, a disciple of Augustine, shows in his comments on Rom. xv. 24, and 2 Tim. iv. 17, that he was not a believer in the apostle's liberation from prison; and Cyril of Jerusalem speaks only of the apostle's *willingness* to extend his preaching to Spain. Innocent I., a western himself, knew nothing of a journey

into Spain, or any other parts, except such as are consistent with a single imprisonment at Rome. These facts favour, indirectly, the opinion that the captivity spoken of in the Acts was the only one. One imprisonment alone is historically valid. The patristic ground of the second is slender.

The evidence for a second captivity resolves itself into the contents of the three epistles, which cannot be brought into harmony with the apostle's situation either before or during the imprisonment noticed at the close of the Acts. Exegetical difficulties lead to the assumption of Paul's release, and of other journeys, after which he was again imprisoned at Rome. These, with the apostle's expressed desire to visit Spain (Rom. xv. 24), seem to have first suggested the hypothesis.

1. The first epistle to Timothy informs the reader that he was at Ephesus when he received it. Paul, intending to go to Macedonia, had left him there: 'As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine' (i. 3). Hence the letter was written soon after the author travelled from Ephesus towards or to Macedonia.

The first occasion on which Paul visited Ephesus is noticed in Acts xviii. 19, after he had left Cenchrea. Departing from it, he visited Caesarea and Antioch, and travelled through Galatia and Phrygia. Calvin supposes that he wrote the letter in the last-named locality. Thus the sojourn at Ephesus, in Acts xviii. 19, is pronounced identical with that in 1 Tim. i. 3.

This opinion is untenable, because the epistle supposes that the church at Ephesus had existed for a considerable time, a fact disagreeing with Acts xviii. 19–21, xix. 1, &c. The church was hardly organised during this first visit. Not a hint is dropped about Timothy being then left behind at Ephesus, though it is stated that Aquila and his wife were left. Neither did the

apostle go from Ephesus to Macedonia on this occasion; which is contrary to 1 Tim. i. 3.

2. A commoner opinion connects the composition of the epistle with the apostle's second visit to Ephesus, mentioned in Acts xx. 1 (compared with xix. 1–41). At this time he did depart to go into Macedonia, in accordance with i. 3. Hence the letter is thought to have been composed while Paul was on his way to Macedonia, or in Macedonia (Acts xx. 1, 2). But insuperable difficulties lie in the way.

(*a*). The superscription of the second epistle to the Corinthians seems to show that at the time Paul is supposed to have written the first epistle to Timothy, Timothy was with him in Macedonia. There is little doubt that the second epistle to the Corinthians was written soon after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia. But in the salutation with which it opens Timothy is associated with the writer and consequently could not be left behind at Ephesus. And as to the only solution of the difficulty that can be thought of, viz. that Timothy, though left behind at Ephesus on Paul's departure from Asia, might yet follow him so soon after as to come up with him in Macedonia before he wrote to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenor of the epistle, which uniformly speaks of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia (1 Tim. iii. 14, 15; iv. 13).

(*b*). When Paul wrote the first epistle to Timothy, he intended to return soon to Ephesus. Neither the Acts nor epistles mention another visit to the place. He never expresses such hope or purpose elsewhere; nor is there any hint of its being fulfilled. It is of no avail to say that some unforeseen accident detained him; because that is improbable by the side of other statements respecting his abiding in Greece and journey to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 6, 7; Acts xix. 21; xx. 16),

statements made about the time when he is supposed to have spoken to Timothy of his intention to return shortly to Ephesus.

(*c*). Paul charges Timothy to abide at Ephesus till his return, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the church in his absence and of establishing it in the faith. But according to the present hypothesis, he speedily abandoned the post, and went to Paul who was still in Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 1). In this way the object of the letter was frustrated.

(*d*). Timothy does not seem to have been at Ephesus when Paul left it for Macedonia, for he had been sent forward shortly before the apostle left Ephesus, into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22).

3. Others place the journey to Macedonia within the three years' stay at Ephesus (Acts xix.). According to this view Luke omits it. The visit in question did not occur towards the commencement of the three years as Mosheim supposes, but after the lapse of two years, because the relations of the church, its organisation, and the origin of the errors alluded to, demand a lengthened abode on the part of the apostle. Such is Wieseler's opinion.[1]

The frequency with which Paul is made to visit Macedonia, either in person or by deputies, militates against the hypothesis. During the same stay at Ephesus he sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia but remained himself (Acts xix. 22); and after leaving Ephesus, he went over all Macedonia, giving much exhortation to the believers (Acts xx. 1, 2). The hypothesis adds one visit more to his personal and vicarious ones to Macedonia about the same period. Wieseler makes the apostle travel from Ephesus to Corinth through Macedonia; to which Huther properly objects, that it makes the apostle be present in Corinth shortly before

[1] Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, pp. 286–315.

the composition of the first epistle to the Corinthians, so that the occasion for writing it becomes void; that Acts xx. 29, 30 is against it, because erroneous doctrines had been already propagated in the church, according to the first epistle to Timothy, whereas the passage in the Acts represents them as still future; and that by the same hypothesis, Paul separated himself from Timothy only for a short time, and after his return must have sent him away soon from Ephesus; contrary to the contents of 1 Tim., which suppose that Timothy was to superintend the church of Ephesus for a considerable time. In proportion as the false doctrines threatened to destroy the church, does it appear the more unsuitable that Paul should have withdrawn Timothy from his sphere of labour, soon after giving him instructions appropriate to a lengthened ministry there.

Such are the exegetical difficulties against an insertion of the first epistle in any part of Paul's public life, as far as we know it from the Acts or his own letters.

Similar obstacles in the second epistle to Timothy, prevent the belief that it was written before or during the writer's first captivity.

1. 'Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick' (2 Tim. iv. 20). This could not have happened on the journey to Jerusalem, because Trophimus was with Paul at that city (Acts xxi. 29); and he did not touch at Miletus in the voyage from Caesarea to Italy.

2. 'Erastus abode at Corinth' (2 Tim. iv. 20). This language implies that Paul passed through Corinth on his way to Rome, and left Erastus there. But the apostle had not been at Corinth for several years before his imprisonment at Rome. Passing from Caesarea to Italy he did not touch at the capital of Achaia. Since his last visit to Corinth also, Timothy had been with him; so that he had no need to write to Timothy about that visit (Acts xx. 4).

3. 'The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when

thou comest, bring with thee; and the books, but especially the parchments' (2 Tim. iv. 13). Here the visit to Troas mentioned in Acts xx. 5–7 seems intended. If so, the articles must have been allowed to be there for seven or eight years; which is very improbable, as the books were evidently of importance.

4. 'I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus' (iv. 12). This could not have been when Tychicus carried the epistle to Colosse, because Timothy was with Paul at Rome at that time (Coloss. i. 1), and the apostle could not have mentioned Tychicus's mission to Timothy then absent. Hence a later mission must be intended, one not alluded to in the Acts or epistles.

5. Paul's situation when he wrote the epistle does not accord with his treatment as it appears in the Acts, nor with any period of the imprisonment there described.

6. The letter to the Philippians expresses a hope that the writer would soon visit them (ii. 24); which disagrees with 2 Tim. iv. 6: 'I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.'

It is thus impossible to find a suitable place for the epistle before or after Paul's imprisonment at Rome.

The exegetical difficulties in the epistle to Titus are equally irreconcilable with its composition during the known life of the apostle.

1. The epistle to Titus was not written during the apostle's sojourn at Corinth of eighteen months, mentioned in Acts xviii. 1–18. While there Paul, it is supposed, went to Crete, and left Titus in the island. On returning to Corinth, he was driven into Epirus by a storm, and wrote the present letter either in Nicopolis or its neighbourhood. The succeeding winter he spent in Nicopolis, preached about that time as far as Illyricum, and returned to Corinth.

This cannot be admitted, because the verb *continued* (Acts xviii. 11) is opposed to the idea of a voyage to Crete during that abode; because very little of the

eighteen months is left for Corinth itself; and because Apollos was not then acquainted with Paul, as the epistle supposes he was (Titus iii. 13).

2. Hug thinks that Paul, after leaving Corinth, went to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19), stopping at Crete by the way. He wrote the letter in Ephesus, announcing his design to spend the winter at Nicopolis in Cilicia, after he had visited Jerusalem and Antioch. But why should Paul, sailing from Corinth for Syria (Acts xviii. 18, 19), have turned aside from the usual course, and digressed to Crete? Besides, Paul and Apollos did not meet at Ephesus, the former having left before the latter arrived; whereas, according to this opinion, they *did* meet there and separate, the one departing for Syria, the other to Corinth by Crete.

3. Others, including Wieseler, insert the journey to Crete and the composition of the letter in the three years' abode at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1–41).

Against this it may be urged, that Paul wrote to Titus to continue in Crete, till he should send Artemas and Tychicus to him, and then to come to Nicopolis. But he afterwards sent for him to Ephesus, recalling him very soon from a sphere in which he had been recently placed. It is also improbable that Paul should take up his winter quarters in Nicopolis, a city where he had not been before, and in relation to which he did not know how he should be received.

4. Others think that Paul made a voyage to Crete after he left Ephesus, before arriving in Greece. Baronius conjectures that he went into Greece from Macedonia (Acts xx. 2), not by land, but by sea, sailing to Crete by the Aegean sea. When he came to Greece, he wrote the present epistle to Titus, either at Nicopolis, or some place not far distant.

According to this view, Paul leaving Macedonia, went to Crete, came back to Greece, travelled to Epirus, wintered in Nicopolis, repaired to Achaia, and passed some

time there, whence he returned to Macedonia. All this occupied a considerable time, yet the writer of the Acts specifies no more than three months in Greece, which are not sufficient.

5. Others place the voyage to Crete during the three months passed in Greece (Acts xx. 2, 3); and the writing of the epistle either at Troas or Nicopolis.

It is improbable that Paul undertook such a voyage in winter, when the sea was dangerous. Before he left Ephesus he had the idea of going to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 4): while at Corinth he still proposed to do so. Why should he have abandoned his design so soon? The three months' residence in Corinth was short enough for the place itself; and the epistles to the Corinthians show that his presence was much needed there.

These are the chief difficulties which lie against the composition of the epistle to Titus being preceded by a voyage to Crete, at any period anterior to or within the apostle's imprisonment at Rome. Putting together all the exegetical embarrassments arising out of the three epistles, the case is strong against their origin within the known life of Paul.

It will be observed that the evidence now adduced in favour of the apostle's release and second imprisonment is merely negative, compelling the critic to look for some method of accounting for the origin of the epistles during his life, which method is conjectural. If it were supported by history, the case would assume another aspect; but it is not, as we have seen. There is no positive evidence that the epistles were written after the apostle's liberation. If it be said that the epistles themselves furnish such evidence, they do not present it otherwise than by an assumption that they are authentic, which is the very thing to be proved. It is possible that the epistles might support the idea of a second imprisonment, if they bore evidence of their Pauline authorship. Only on that condition can they be considered as

favourable to the hypothesis of a part of the apostle's life being omitted in the Acts. We are therefore shut up to the positive evidence of the epistles for or against their authenticity. Do they possess the characteristics of a Pauline origin? If they do, we must assume that the apostle was released, and made several journeys not recorded in the Acts, that he came to Rome again, was imprisoned, and suffered death. If they do not, the entire hypothesis must be looked upon as a fiction, framed and supported to prop up the authenticity of writings which cannot stand the test.

One argument approaching the nature of positive evidence for the apostle's release, and consequent second imprisonment, has been found in 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17: 'At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.' Here it is implied that he had got a hearing, and had been discharged, and that he was then permitted to preach the gospel, so that all the Gentiles would hear it. The interpretation is too doubtful to be built upon. The words may refer to a hearing he had in his first captivity, when he was rescued from imminent peril, not set at liberty, and that all the Gentiles would come to know the gospel indirectly through Rome, because it was the centre and metropolis of heathenism. The eighteenth verse favours the latter view, because its language connects the present imprisonment closely and immediately with that very one during which he had been delivered from danger.

In opposition to the preceding argument for the apostle's release, we may mention the improbability of so much being repeated during the supposed second imprisonment, of what had happened in the first. It must

be assumed that each time Timothy and Mark were not with the apostle at first, but joined him afterwards; that Luke was with him each time; and that on both occasions Tychicus was sent to Asia. We must also assume, says Hug, that Paul at both times, even in the latter part of Nero's reign, was permitted to receive friends during his incarceration; to write letters and despatch messengers. Nor is it likely that the apostle should have survived the persecution of the Christians under Nero, which followed the burning of the city. In Rome he was too conspicuous not to be seized at once. If he was absent, and had afterwards returned, he would scarcely have been treated in the way the second epistle implies; for even while writing it, he had considerable privileges. Hence it is most precarious to date the second epistle to Timothy after the burning of Rome, July 19, A.D. 64, supposing it to be Pauline.

We shall now adduce the external and internal evidence for and against the authenticity.

Allusions to the pastoral epistles have been found in Clement of Rome: 'Let us therefore come to him in holiness of soul, lifting up to him chaste and undefiled hands' (1 Tim. ii. 8).[1]

'He that shall do this will procure for himself great glory in the Lord, and every place will receive him' (1 Tim. iii. 13).[2]

'Let us consider what is good, and what agreeable and acceptable before him that made us' (1 Tim. v. 4).[3]

'Ye were ready unto every good work' (Titus iii. 1).[4]

Except the last, all these allusions are too uncertain

[1] προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἁγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν.—*Epist.* 1 *ad Cor.* c. 29.

[2] . . . . τοῦτο ὁ ποιήσας, ἑαυτῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Κυρίῳ περιποιήσεται, καὶ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτόν.—*Ibid.* c. 54.

[3] βλέπωμεν τί καλόν, καὶ τί τερπνὸν καὶ προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς.—*Ibid.* c. 7.

[4] ἕτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.—*Ibid.* c. 2.

to be relied upon. If the last have a real reference to the epistle to Titus, Clement not Titus is the original.

Ignatius is the next author adduced as a witness for the existence of the pastoral letters prior to his time.

'Crocus has in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him' (2 Tim. i. 16–18).[1]

Two or three other places are sometimes quoted, which have no visible connection with the supposed originals. The one now given is uncertain, especially when the state of the letters is considered. Lardner has made the most of Clement and Ignatius; but critics attach no weight to their testimony.

In his epistle to the Philippians Polycarp has, 'The love of money is the beginning of all evils. Knowing, therefore, that as we brought nothing into the world, so neither can we carry anything out,' &c. (1 Tim. vi. 7, 10).[2]

Again: 'Pray for all the saints: pray also for kings, and powers, and princes' (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2).[3]

'According as he has promised us that he will raise us up from the dead, and that if we walk worthy of him, we shall also reign with him, if we believe' (2 Tim. ii. 11, 12).[4]

'For they loved not this present world' (2 Tim. iv. 10).[5]

The first of these passages agrees so nearly with the supposed original, that the similarity cannot have been

[1] καὶ Κρόκος δὲ . . . . κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι.—*Ad Ephes.* c. 2.

[2] Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία· εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὁπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης.—Cap. 4.

[3] Pro omnibus sanctis orate. Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus.—*Ibid.* c. 12.

[4] καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἴγε πιστεύσομεν.—*Ibid.* c. 5.

[5] οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα.—*Ad Ephes.* c. 9.

accidental. What is the date of Polycarp's letter? Ritschl has shown that it is between A.D. 140 and 168. If therefore the epistle was written by Polycarp twenty years before his death, which took place after A.D. 161, the first epistle to Timothy furnished him with the passage before us, for we hold that the pastoral epistles were composed before A.D. 140. The quotation should therefore be allowed, in opposition to Schleiermacher and Baur, who try to neutralise it.

Eusebius introduces Hegesippus in this manner: 'The same author relating the events of the times, also says that the Church continued until then as a pure and uncorrupt virgin; whilst, if there were any at all that attempted to pervert the sound doctrine of the saving gospel, they were yet skulking in dark retreats... But when the sacred choir of apostles became extinct, and the generation of those who had been privileged to hear their inspired wisdom had passed away, then also the combinations of impious error arose by the fraud and delusion of false teachers. These also, as there was none of the apostles left, henceforth attempted with uncovered head to preach their science, falsely so called, against the gospel of truth.'[1]

On this passage Baur founds the following argument against the authenticity of the pastoral epistles. Hegesippus (A.D. 160–170) states that till the time of Trajan the Church was a pure virgin, and that *science falsely so called* did not rear its head till all the apostles were removed. How could the historian say so, had Paul, as

[1] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ διηγούμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἐπιλέγει ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε . . . . Ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης· οἱ καὶ ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν.—*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 32.

the author of the pastoral epistles, designated by the name of *science falsely so called*, a thing existing in his day? And as other expressions in the passage resemble some in the epistles, it can only be assumed, either that Hegesippus had the letters before him, or their author had the work of Hegesippus. But Hegesippus, who was an Ebionite, would scarcely have used a Pauline epistle; and therefore the pastoral letters copied from Hegesippus.[1] The phrase *science falsely so called* leads directly to the Gnostics of the time of Trajan.

On this reasoning we remark, that for aught Hegesippus says, the science, falsely so called, or Gnosticism, may have existed in the apostolic time *secretly*. After the apostle's death, it appeared 'with naked head,' i.e. openly; formerly it had lurked in obscure corners. Besides, Christian writers of the third and later centuries, who acknowledged the pastoral epistles as authentic, speak of the early Church as a pure virgin.[2]

Granting that Hegesippus was a Jewish-christian, we see no great difficulty in supposing that he read the pastoral epistles written in Paul's name, and remembered some of their expressions. He may probably have paid little attention to them. It is enough that he remembered the phrase, *science falsely so called*;[3] and that *the delusion of false teachers*,[4] *sound canon of the saving gospel*,[5] were unconscious echoes of words in the epistles. The phrase in Hegesippus, *science falsely so called*, which could hardly have been accidental, came, in our opinion, from the pastoral epistles.

Lardner quotes two passages from Athenagoras, one referring to 1 Tim. v. 1, 2; the other to 1 Tim. vi. 16; but they are too distant to be relied on.[6]

[1] Paulus der Apostel, p. 494.

[2] Scharling's Die neuesten Untersuchungen über die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe u. s. w., p. 40.

[3] ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις. [4] ἡ τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτη.

[5] ὑγιὴς κανὼν τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος.

[6] Works, 4to ed. vol. i. p. 380.

Theophilus of Antioch writes: 'Moreover, concerning our being subject to principalities and powers, and praying for them, the divine word commands us to be thus subject to them, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life' (1 Tim. ii. 2; Titus iii. 1).[1] Here the resemblance is apparent.

After this, the testimonies become more explicit. Irenaeus says: 'Whereas, some rejecting the truth, bring in lying words and vain genealogies, which minister questions, as the apostle says, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith' (1 Tim. i. 4).[2]

Again: 'Of this Linus Paul makes mention in the epistles to Timothy' (2 Tim. iv. 21).[3]

In another place he writes: 'As Paul says, "A man that is an heretic . . . reject"' (Titus iii. 10).[4]

Clement of Alexandria quotes the epistle as Paul's. Thus he writes: 'Of which the apostle writing, says, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science,"' &c. (1 Tim. vi. 20).[5]

Again: 'In the second epistle to Timothy the noble Paul commands,' &c.[6] Elsewhere he writes: 'Others speak of Epimenides, the Cretan . . . . . whom the apostle has mentioned in the epistle to Titus, speak-

[1] *ἔτι μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμῖν (ἡμᾶς) θεῖος λόγος ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν.—Ad Autolyc.* iii. 14.

[2] *ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραπεμπόμενοί τινες, ἐπεισάγουσι λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεαλογίας ματαίας, αἵτινες ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι, καθὼς ὁ ἀπόστολός φησιν, ἢ οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει.—Contra Haeres.* i. *prooem.*

[3] *τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται. —Ibid.* iii. 3. 3.

[4] *καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν· Αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . . παραιτοῦ.—Ibid.* iii. 3, 4.

[5] *περὶ ἧς ὁ ἀπόστολος γράφων, Ὦ Τιμόθεε, φησίν, τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον, ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας, κ.τ.λ.—Strom.* ii. p. 457, ed. Potter.

[6] *ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ ὁ γενναῖος διατάσσεται Παῦλος. —Ibid.* iii. p. 536.

ing thus, "The Cretians are always liars"' (Titus i. 12).[1]

Tertullian's testimony is equally explicit: 'And this word Paul has used when writing to Timothy, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust." And again: "That good thing which was committed to thee keep"' (1 Tim. vi. 20, and 2 Tim. i. 14).[2]

Again: 'But of this no more need be said, if it be the same Paul who, writing to the Galatians, reckons heresies among the works of the flesh, and who directs Titus to reject a man that is an heretic, after the first admonition, knowing that he who is such, is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself' (Titus iii. 10, 11).[3]

Justin Martyr often uses the expressions, *piety*, *godliness*,[4] the same Greek words as in the epistles. His 'Dialogue with Trypho' has also, 'the kindness and love of God'[5] (Titus iii. 4).

These testimonies need not be followed farther. The epistles are in the old Syriac version and the Muratorian canon. Eusebius admitted them into the list of books generally received as divine.

The earliest external evidence against the epistles is that of Marcion, from whose canon they were absent. They were either non-existent in his time, or were disliked and rejected by him. Internal evidence, as will be shown hereafter, leads us to believe that they existed

[1] *οἱ δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα . . . . οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ λέγων οὕτως, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ, κ.τ.λ.*—*Strom.* i. p. 350, ed. Potter.

[2] Et hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depositum custodi. Et rursus: Bonum depositum serva.—*De Praescript. Haeret.* c. 25.

[3] Nec diutius de isto, si idem et Paulus, qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina enumerat, scribens ad Galatas, et qui Tito suggerit, hominem haereticum post primam correptionem recusandum, quod perversus sit ejusmodi et delinquat, ut a semetipso damnatus.—*Ibid.* c. 6.

[4] *θεοσέβεια, εὐσέβεια.* [5] Chapter 47.

earlier than Marcion (A.D. 140). Hence he must have excluded them, as Tertullian and Jerome believed when they applied to him such words as *refused* (recusavit), and *rejected* (repudiavit). It is probable that Marcion discarded them on doctrinal grounds. Eichhorn indeed asserts, that if he had known the epistles, nothing in his system prevented him from using them. It is even alleged that he might have fitly employed them in support of his theological views.[1] The utmost we can concede is, that he might have admitted the epistle to Titus, as Tatian did afterwards, and expunged the two passages (2 Tim. ii. 8, 18), which must have been obnoxious; but being not so discriminative, the three were rejected together.

Other Gnostics, Basilides and the anti-jewish class generally, agreed with Marcion in rejecting the epistles.

Tatian rejected the two to Timothy, but received that addressed to Titus. The reason of this is unknown. Perhaps he saw that the contents of the letter to Titus were less anti-gnostic than those of the other two.

The letters were rejected by other heretics besides those just mentioned, as two incidental observations made by Jerome and Clement of Alexandria prove.[2] Some discarded the second to Timothy because of the passage about Jannes and Jambres.[3]

It must not, however, be supposed that all the heretics of the second century rejected the epistles. In a treatise, commonly appended to the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, but written by a disciple of Theodotus (about A.D. 190), 1 Tim. ii. 5 is quoted. In another place, the expression, 'dwelling in light unapproachable' (1 Tim. vi. 16), is applied to the Son. We also learn from Tertullian,[4] that some false teachers, towards the close of the second century, appealed to passages

[1] Einleit. ins. N. T., vol. iii. p. 383.
[2] Praefat. Hieronymi in ep. ad Tit.; Clementis Strom. ii. 11.
[3] Origen ad Matt. xxvii. 9.
[4] De Praescript. c. 25.

(1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14), to support their claims to an esoteric and exoteric instruction in Christianity.

The early heretical opposition to the epistles seems to have been prompted by doctrinal prepossessions, and cannot overbalance other testimonies.

The result of our examination of the external evidence is, that the epistles were known prior to A.D. 150, probably 140. Before the middle of the second century they were accepted as Paul's. There is a gap between A.D. 64 and 140 which we cannot fill up. From A.D. 70 till 130 there is no evidence respecting them. During that time they may have been written, and accepted as Paul's without opposition not only because the age was uncritical, but because they were justly thought to be useful and edifying letters with a Pauline stamp.

The decision respecting their authenticity must turn upon internal evidence. What testimony do the epistles themselves give relative to their authorship?

1. The way in which Paul acts and speaks is adverse to his authorship of the epistles.

Apocryphal authors, who personate another, generally take occasion to throw in characteristic personal traits of him in whose name they write. This is exemplified by the author of the second epistle of Peter, who represents himself as a witness of the transfiguration scene. In like manner, we find in 1 Tim. i. 13, the author saying of himself, 'who was before a blasphemer and a persecutor and injurious;' and, in 1 Tim. i. 15, that he was the 'chief of sinners.' Such departure from simplicity resembles the rhetorical manner of Barnabas's fifth chapter, where the apostles are termed 'very great sinners,' to show the greatness of that grace which selected them as instruments. And as in 2 Peter i. 13, 14, Peter says of himself, that he must shortly put off his tabernacle, as the Lord had showed him (John xxi. 18, 19); so we read in 2 Tim. iv. 6, 'the time of my departure is at hand.' Both are analogous marks

of unauthenticity. The self-glorifying tone accompanying the Pauline certainty of a future event, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith,' &c., &c., corroborates the belief that the writer threw himself back into the apostle's feelings, dwelling on Paul's prophetic sight with fondness.

It is also remarkable, that Paul wrote both to Timothy and Titus, after having been with them shortly before, about things that he could have told them orally much better, and which he must have communicated to them, if they were so important as they are represented. The author himself reminds Timothy that he had previously commanded him to do certain things. Why then does he repeat what had been already said by word of mouth? Is not this suspicious? The suspicion is increased when we read, 'these things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly' (1 Tim. iii. 14), and, 'Be diligent to come unto me' (Titus iii. 12). If the apostle was shortly to go to Timothy, and Titus to hasten back to him, why commit to writing such instructions for their use in the short interval? In the second epistle to Timothy there is the same injunction, 'Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me' (iv. 9); 'Do thy diligence to come before winter' (iv. 21); so that this characteristic trait of the epistles arises from a desire to prevent Timothy from being considered too independent of the apostle. The epistolary instructions imply that Timothy and Titus had been located in certain places to perform duties requiring time and wisdom. Why then should they be withdrawn from their spheres of labour immediately? Do not the epistles provide for a lengthened term of office at Ephesus and Crete?

Is it not strange too, that Paul should repeatedly tell Timothy and Titus, his constant attendants, that the gospel had been committed to him, and that he was a teacher of the Gentiles (1 Tim. i. 11; 2 Tim.

i. 11; Titus i. 3)? The former is assured of this most solemnly (2 Tim. i. 11).

2. The manner in which Timothy and Titus are described excites grave suspicions of authorship. The former is reminded of his early instruction (2 Tim. iii. 15), and of his mother and grandmother, in relation to which subject the writer has the strange clause, 'from my forefathers.' The evangelist is enjoined 'to flee youthful lusts.' How do these statements suit a companion of the apostle, whose ripe years and experience were fully known? On the supposition of a second captivity, Timothy must have attended the apostle for thirteen years, a fact which does not agree well with 'let no man despise thy youth.' He surely did not need to be told, nor is it at all likely that the apostle would have written to him, 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' 'Thou, O man of God, flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness.' 'Refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness. For bodily exercise profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation.' 'Be thou an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all. Take heed unto thyself and unto the doctrine; continue in them,' &c. &c. 'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.' 'Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner.'

'Consider what I say; and *the Lord give thee understanding in all things.*' 'Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel.' 'Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.' He is thus treated like a catechumen and a novice. One of the passages implies that he did not rightly understand the apostle's doctrine (2 Tim. ii. 7). The portrait of Timothy is evidently an artificial one, the writer addressing him in the style of a schoolmaster, not of a well-tried friend.

With respect to Titus, the case is not very different. Many instructions are unsuited to one in his position. 'Speak thou the things which become sound doctrine. That the aged men be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience. The aged women likewise, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things; that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed. Young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded. In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works: in doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you. Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things: not answering again; not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things' (Titus ii. 1–10). 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work, to speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men' (iii. 1, 2).

According to the epistle he was entrusted with the oversight of the church in Crete, not as permanent bishop, which a later tradition makes him, but as Paul's temporary representative. Why he should have been selected for a post so arduous can only be conjectured. Perhaps, as he was formerly the occasion of deciding the question of circumcision, the author of the epistle chooses him against the 'vain talkers and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision' (i. 10).

3. The general tone and character of the epistles are different from Paul's.

It is difficult to describe what we mean without going into particulars; but the critical reader will have no difficulty in apprehending it. The precepts and directions are ethical and outward, relating to conduct. They touch upon matters of convenience or propriety. The very health of Timothy is attended to. Regulations about churches, their organisation and their office-bearers, are such as might have been left to the judgment of Timothy and Titus themselves. Good works are much more prominent than the central doctrines which the apostle always insisted upon. And the precepts are so vague as to have no right adaptation to the circumstances of the case. They are superficial and pointless. Every one perceives a practical tendency in the letters which is wholesome enough, but too common-place to proceed from Paul, because it is neither based on high motives, nor does it spring from faith in Christ. The ethical tone of the epistles savours of a good man who does not think deeply, or act under an abiding impression of Christ crucified, but takes an ordinary view of the doctrines and duties of Christianity. The pervading spirit is flat, sober, sensible, without vigour, point, depth, or spiritual richness. Examples are abundant. One object of writing to Timothy and Titus was to instruct them respecting the right organisation and management of the churches in Ephesus and Crete.

Accordingly the qualifications of bishops, deacons, deaconesses, &c., are enumerated (1 Tim. iii.; Titus i. 6, &c.), qualifications common-place enough, descending even to the mention of a bishop not being a drunkard or striker. Surely the two evangelists must have known of themselves all that is said here. We cannot suppose that Paul would have written on the subject in that fashion. His directions and counsels would have been profounder and more valuable, evolving a few general principles, instead of numerous details. Nothing is said about the spiritual qualifications of a bishop, what subjects he should chiefly speak of, how he should preach, or how hearers and preachers should stand towards each other. Their highest duties are omitted.

As the Paulinism of these epistles is predominantly practical, faith is no longer the great central principle; it has lost its importance by being so constantly put with love and other virtues (1 Tim. i. 5, 14; ii. 15; iv. 12; vi. 11; 2 Tim. i. 13; ii. 22; Titus ii. 2). Hence, all the more stress is laid upon godliness or works.

Women should adorn themselves with good works. A widow chosen to an ecclesiastical office, should be well reported of for good works. She should have diligently followed every good work. Rich men should be charged to do good, and to be rich in good works. The Christian is a vessel prepared unto every good work. The man of God is thoroughly furnished unto all good works. Some are reprobate unto every good work. Titus should show himself a pattern of good works. Jesus Christ purposed to purify unto himself a people zealous of good works. Titus is exhorted to remind the Cretians to be ready to every good work. He is also to affirm certain things constantly, that believers might be careful to maintain good works.

In these passages the substance of Christianity is said to be good works. Instead of *faith* having the specific importance which Paul gives it, the general idea of *god-*

liness or *piety* is put in its place, an expression very frequent in these epistles. Thus Paulinism is flattened into ethical precepts, losing its incisive power and prominence. The word *faith* has commonly an objective meaning, viz. a system of theoretical convictions, or the dogmas of a creed. We do not say that Paulinism is absent from the epistles, for it is stated that we are saved not according to our works of righteousness, but according to the divine mercy (Titus iii. 5; 2 Tim. i. 9). But it takes another shape, being filed off into practical precepts; while faith, its cardinal principle, is dethroned.

The vague generality which characterises the epistles is observable in the exhortations about public prayers (1 Tim. ii.), about the adorning of women, about slaves (vi. 1, &c.), and the rich (vi. 17–19). The writer affirms that Christ is able to keep *what has been committed* to him against the day of appearing; he exhorts Timothy to hold fast the form of sound words which he had heard of Paul, and to keep that good thing which was committed to him. He diverges into common-places, as in 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21; iii. 12; xvi. 17. No leading object is pursued throughout, but the author speaks of himself, of Timothy, of false teachers, passing from the one to the other abruptly, or starting off into statements of a general character, and coming back to an abandoned topic without a proper preparation for it.

4. Unpauline sentiments occur.

'Alexander, the coppersmith, did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works' (2 Tim. iv. 14). This wish, or imprecation, savours of another than the apostle. The reading 'The Lord will reward him,' probably arose out of the desire to get rid of the harshness. 'I obtained mercy *because* I did it ignorantly in unbelief' (1 Tim. i. 13). The apostle's ignorance and want of belief were the reason why God showed him compassion. That his guilt was less because of his ignorance is undeniable; but that he obtained mercy *on account of*

ignorance and unbelief, is an anti-pauline idea. 'Notwithstanding she shall be saved in child-bearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety' (1 Tim. ii. 15). Here it is stated that women will be saved by bearing children, if they continue in faith, &c. One condition of their salvation is the bearing of children. The word translated *child-bearing* may embrace the motherly duties of a wife, presupposing the performance of them in a Christian spirit. But this does not expel the idea of merit. The passage plainly asserts that the duties of a mother are the way to obtain an eternal reward. Desert is not excluded. The writer seeing that women were debarred from teaching in the church, finds for them an equivalent privilege. In the 7th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul recommends celibacy, perhaps under the peculiar circumstances of the times. But in the 14th chapter, where he prohibits the practice of females taking a part in the religious services of assemblies, he gives no compensation for the prohibited privilege, and no consolatory promise instead.

'One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. *This witness is true*,' &c. (Titus i. 12, 13). Here the writer pronounces a harsh judgment on the Cretians generally, though he had shortly before spread the truth among them, and founded churches. The ready acceptance which Paul is represented as having had in Crete, makes such a severe statement improbable. He always pronounced as favourable an opinion as possible respecting those to whom he had preached.

After the writer of the first epistle to Timothy speaks of persons who wished to be teachers of the law but understood nothing of its nature, he proceeds to describe the legitimate use which an instructor might make of it, viz. that it should be urged upon those who still continue in sin, to awaken them to repentance; adding

immediately, that what he had just said about the law being for the ungodly not the righteous, is consistent with the gospel of the glory of the blessed God (i. 7–11). This is not Paul's method of meeting persons who insisted on the obligation of the law, but is a conciliatory and mediating position between the friends of the law and Pauline Christians. The apostle himself would have said, that we are justified by faith, not by the law.

In 1 Tim. iv. 1, the writer speaks of 'doctrines of devils or demons' i.e. doctrines proceeding from demons. False doctrine was supposed to come from the devil and demons as his instruments, which is an unpauline sentiment.[1] The apostle had to contend with many erroneous doctrines; but he never characterises them as the invention of demons, though some were as dangerous as Gnostic ideas.

In Titus i. 2, iii. 7, *hope* is connected with eternal life. This is also unpauline. The apostle never joins hope to eternal life. He views the latter as a present possession, the gift of God, and not an object of hope.

In Titus iii. 5, the connecting of baptism with regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, is a thing foreign to Paul. To make it Pauline, many interpreters resort to another sense of the word *washing*.

In 2 Tim. i. 10, the idea is strictly Pauline that Christ abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light; but the addition, 'by the gospel,' is unsuited to his method.

In the first epistle to Timothy there are two doxologies which cannot but strike the reader as unpauline. It is not the apostle's manner to accumulate predicates of God as they are in these instances: 'Now to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honour and

[1] Compare Tertullian. Hae sunt doctrinae hominum et daemoniorum, etc.—*De Praescript. Haeret.* c. 7.

glory for ever and ever. Amen.' 'The blessed and only potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.' These predicates are intended to set forth the absolute essence of God and resemble Gnostic ideas, some of them pretty closely, such as, 'inhabiting unapproachable light.' Gnostic attacks on the anthropomorphism of the Old Testament led the orthodox to avoid everything sensuous in relation to God, and to describe his abstract being. In doing so, they appropriated predicates which the Gnostics used, to rebut their opposition the more effectually. There is little doubt that the epithet *King of the ages* or *of eternity* was a Gnostic phrase. Coming from Paul, such doxological epithets would be idle. Besides, he never uses 'the only God,' 'the only potentate,' 'the blessed potentate;' neither has he 'the blessed God' (1 Tim. i. 11), or 'the great God' (Titus ii. 13).

In 1 Tim. vi. 14, 15 it is said, that 'the appearing' or second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ will be *shown* in his times *by God the Father*, which is unpauline; since the apostle speaks of his appearing as an independent act. Here it is thoroughly subordinated to the power and will of God.

The word *heretic* (Titus iii. 10), is not used by Paul, but is of later origin. It means a person attached to or causing heresy. Formed as it is from a Greek word[1] which the apostle never applies to doctrine, but always to a *faction* or *party*, the prominent idea in *heretic* is here a doctrinal one, one who departs from sound doctrine.

In 2 Tim. iii. 16 we read that every writing (of the holy Scriptures) is inspired by God, and useful for doctrine, for reproof, &c.

[1] αἵρεσις.

Here the Old Testament in all its parts is expressly raised to a high practical value, immediately after it is declared the basis of Christian piety ('able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus'). The importance thus attached to the single books of the Old Testament as well as to the whole collection, is not a Pauline idea. It may be conceded that Paul believed in the verbal inspiration of the Old Testament, since his reasoning appears at times to countenance that notion (Gal. iii. 16); but that he would assert every book and portion of the collection to be 'inspired of God,' is improbable. A reason may be found for the stress laid upon the Old Testament. The Gnostics undervalued it, mainly too on a Pauline basis. Hence the writer gives an emphatic testimony in its favour, asserting not only the inspiration but practical use of every writing in the volume.

5. The letters exhibit many proofs of a post-apostolic origin. An example is given by the ecclesiastical widows or female presbyters referred to in 1 Tim. v. 9–16, where it is prescribed that a widow should be sixty and have had but one husband, to be eligible for church duties. The author proceeds to exclude all widows under sixty, recommending the younger ones to marry again and bear children. We cannot agree with Baur, who gives a wider meaning to the word *widow*, viz. that of marriageable persons, not merely widows but unmarried females and virgins; though the sense of the whole passage is improved, and the incongruity between the ninth and the eleventh and fourteenth verses removed by that expedient.[1] In proof of such ecclesiastical meaning which the term widow bore in the second century, a passage in Ignatius is quoted.[2] But the passage has been suspected of interpolation, and the longer recension has it differently. The foundation is too precarious to

[1] Paulus der Apostel u. s. w., p. 497.
[2] Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 13.

build upon. The word may have had an extended meaning in the second century, but it may not; and even if it had, there is no necessity to apply it here. The institute of ecclesiastical widows belonged to the second century, as we learn from Tertullian; and the probability is, that it was not so early as the first, since a formal selection and appointment are indicated here. Deaconesses were not unknown to the apostolic time, as Phebe was one in the church at Cenchrea; these female presbyters or ecclesiastical widows were probably post-apostolic.

The injunction respecting a bishop or elder, that he should be the husband of one wife only (Titus i. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 2), also savours of a time when second marriages of ecclesiastics were in disrepute. The dislike to them arose out of an ascetic spirit, early in the second century. The apostle Paul, notwithstanding his preference for the unmarried state, was not the man to abridge Christian liberty by a precept like the present, which originated in a post-apostolic atmosphere. It is superfluous to remark, that the prohibition has no reference to successive marriages.

The letters speak of elders, the bishop and deacons. Elders and deacons were in the apostolic churches. And in the life-time of the apostle, elders were identical with bishops, as appears from Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1. In the epistle to Titus, we read that he was left in Crete 'to ordain *elders* in every city; it is added, 'for a *bishop* must be blameless,' &c., putting both apparently on the same level, as if the names were synonymous. Yet it is observable that the *bishop* is always spoken of, never *bishops*; elders in the plural, bishop in the singular. Does this intimate a distinction between them? Does it imply a college of elders, with one of their number for president or *primus inter pares*? Does it point to a period when the title *bishop* was appropriated to one of the elders? We cannot say. The divine institution of the episcopate is not hinted; and the claims

set up for it in the Ignatian letters are unknown. Hence an origin as late as that of the Ignatian epistles cannot be attributed to the letters before us.

Soon after the apostolic age, the monarchical principle began to develop itself. Ecclesiastical republics ruled by a college of elders with a president at their head drew themselves more closely together, and the presidents obtained a growing power. There was a striving after outward unity. Yet the priestly idea does not appear in these epistles. The writer gives copious instructions respecting office-bearers. In his epistles, the apostle generally wrote to churches which had officers; and it would have been absurd to write to them about the proper method of choosing what they had already. Besides, those churches had seen the way in which the apostle had appointed them himself, or sanctioned their election by others. Here the writer gives directions to persons entrusted with the oversight of churches respecting the proper persons to be elected as depositaries of apostolic doctrine. The teachers were to be men holding the faithful words transmitted by apostles, which they had themselves to hand over to others capable of teaching it. Wholesome doctrine must be within the church; the presiding officers having charge of the treasure. Greater stress is laid upon office than is done in Paul's epistles, because right-minded teachers were more needful against serious errors. The hierarchical principle grew as the idea of catholic unity pressed itself upon the mind.

Repeated allusions occur to *sound doctrine*, *the faithful word*, *a faithful saying*, *sound words*, *words of faith and good doctrine*, *wholesome words*, received by Timothy from the apostle, and which he is enjoined to keep with all purity. The writer does not explain what he means by the sacred treasure; but supposes that Timothy and Titus knew it well. What gave rise to these injunctions? Erroneous doctrine. The false teachers com-

bated had erred from *the faith*, or made shipwreck in relation to it. They had erred concerning *the truth*. This is the main objection made to them. There appears therefore to have been a definite doctrinal creed, departure from which was considered heresy. The word faith is not used in a subjective but objective sense, denoting a fixed creed, and therefore *the common faith* is referred to (Titus i. 4). A system of theoretical opinions had been formed, variously termed *sound* or *good doctrine*, or *the doctrine* simply (1 Tim. vi. 1), which was a touchstone to try errors. The antagonism of orthodoxy and heterodoxy had begun.

Faith having thus become fixed dogma, implies a community bound together by close ties. Accordingly the idea of the Church finds expression in the epistles. The consciousness of ecclesiastical unity appears. A growing importance is attached to ecclesiastical organisation. The bishop, elders, deacons, deaconesses, ecclesiastical widows, are described, and their qualifications noted. The constitution and consolidation of the Church are important in the eyes of the writer, whereas the apostle thought little of ecclesiastical arrangements in his zeal for higher subjects. The fact points to a time when concentration began to be thought of by the Christians who had been taught by apostles or their disciples; when the idea of one catholic Church took possession of the mind, as a bulwark against the dangers that threatened to break up and destroy Christian union. It was necessary to build up a Church having overseers who should transmit the true doctrine to others, and guard it against Gnostic errors. So in 1 Tim. iii. 15, the Church is termed the pillar and ground of truth, an unpauline idea; for in the first epistle to the Corinthians Jesus Christ is said to be the foundation, not the Church. This Church as the firm foundation of God (2 Tim. ii. 19) has a twofold inscription, as pillars and foundation-stones commonly have; one, 'The Lord knows them

that are his,' i.e. none can belong to it who is not chosen by Christ; the other, 'Let every Christian depart from iniquity,' to which false doctrine necessarily leads. But though the Church forms an inclosure, it is not so select or separate from the world as to exclude distinctions of members belonging to it, or even false teachers. There are in it a variety of vessels, honourable and dishonourable. If a man purge himself from vessels of dishonour, from false teachers and their errors, he becomes a vessel of honour. This is a mild view of errorists, not that hatred of heretics which the Church showed at a later period. Such as oppose themselves are to be instructed with meekness, if perchance God may give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. A heretic is not to be rejected till he has disregarded repeated admonitions, and then he is self-condemned. All directions respecting the arrangements of the Church as well as those about heretics, tend to realise unity; enforcing the principle that the basis of the Church is unity of faith.

6. The universality of God's favour has a prominence in these epistles which it has not in Paul's. 'This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all' (1 Tim. ii. 3–6). 'The living God, who is the Saviour of all men' (1 Tim. iv. 10). 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men' (Titus ii. 11). These emphatic statements imply the existence of an opposite sentiment, viz. that the grace of God was not intended for all, which was entertained by the Gnostics, who, making a distinction between different classes, believed that those only should be received into the kingdom of light who had in them the pneumatic principle. All not belonging to the class of the pneumatics, were excluded from happi-

ness. Such Gnostic particularism is glanced at in the expression, 'to come to the knowledge of the truth;'[1] for 'knowledge'[2] was, with the Gnostics, the only condition of happiness. 'Coming to the knowledge of the truth' is synonymous with the phrase 'to be saved,' or included in it.

7. Numerous passages in the epistles show the use of Paul's acknowledged writings, not merely in idea but expression. Examples are: 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 2 Tim. i. 3, comp. Rom. i. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 5, comp. 1 Cor. ix. 24; 2 Tim. ii. 6, comp. 1 Cor. ix. 7, 10; 2 Tim. ii. 8, comp. Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 11, comp. Rom. vi. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 20, comp. Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. iii. 2, &c.; Rom. i. 29, &c.; 2 Tim. iv. 6; Phil. ii. 17, 23. The similarity here is seldom denied. It has been attributed, however, to one and the same writer, especially as it is accompanied by divergence. But another and inferior colouring belongs to it, savouring of an imitator rather than the identical author. Thus, in 2 Tim. ii. 8, there is a harsh ellipsis which is supplied in Rom. i. 3.[3] When the adjective found in the latter passage was omitted, the writer should have at least retained the article.[4] The construction is deficient.

The same abridging process appears in 2 Tim. iv. 6, compared with its original in Phil. ii. 17. The word 'I am poured out as a libation or drink-offering,' is obscure without some such addition as it has in the Philippian passage. Hence it is interpreted differently by Heydenreich, Heinrichs, Huther, and others. In 2 Tim. i. 3, the Greek phraseology is inferior to that of the original (Rom. i. 9).

Where there is borrowing from other than the Pauline writings, the present epistles show it. Thus the word *mediator* is taken from the epistle to the Hebrews

[1] ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.
[2] γνῶσις.
[3] τὸν γενόμενον.
[4] τοῦ (σπέρματος).

(compare 1 Tim. ii. 5 with Hebr. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24). The apostle Paul never applies it to Christ, for in Gal. iii. 20 Moses is meant. As Schleiermacher has remarked, the term involves the idea of a covenant, without which idea in the context, its use is abrupt. Preparation should be made for it by the word *covenant*, or by some direct expression of what a covenant means.

8. In 1 Tim. v. 18, we read: 'For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire.' The first part of the quotation is from Deut. xxv. 4. The second part, however, is not from the Old Testament, but from Luke x. 7. Hence Luke's gospel was prior to the present epistle; and the former was not written till the second century.

9. The passage 1 Tim. iii. 16: 'And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness, *who* was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory,' is introduced abruptly. No subject to the relative pronoun *who* is mentioned; and the propositions are arranged in pairs. The meaning of the whole passage and of its separate clauses is obscure. It is probable that it was taken from some early confession of faith. The writer does not state the subject as he should do; and there is accordingly a christological gap just where something definite about the person of Christ is expected. In 1 Tim. ii. 5 the *humanity* of Christ Jesus is emphatically stated. But the assertion 'was manifested in the flesh,' does not suit a mere man. It can only refer to a superhuman being. Hence the subject of the mystery of godliness—of that Christian godliness long hidden from the world but at length revealed, is the Logos or Word. The entire passage savours of a later author than Paul in whose time confessions of faith did not appear. It was Gnosticism that called them forth. If this be so,

'the good confession' (1 Tim. vi. 12, 13) which Timothy made before many witnesses, also points to a post-apostolic period, for public and solemn confessions of faith were unknown in Paul's day.

If the words 'and Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession,' were not in a creed like that of the apostles' when the pastoral letters were written, they bear the same sense as they do in that creed. Christ 'under (not before) Pontius Pilate *witnessed* a good confession.' He was the first martyr. The allusion is not to John xviii. 35, &c., where he declared himself to be the King of truth or the Messiah, but to his sufferings and death.

10. The words and phrases peculiar to these epistles are numerous and striking. The following is a list of them.

ἀγαθοεργεῖν, ἀγωγή, ἀδηλότης, αἰδώς (?), *ἀδιαφθορία* or *ἀφθορία, ἀθλεῖν, αἱρετικός, ἀκαίρως, ἀκρατής, ἀκατάγνωστος, ἄλλως, ἀμοιβή, ἀναζωπυρεῖν, ἀνάλυσις, ἀνανήφειν, ἀναψύχειν, ἀνεξίκακος, ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ἀνήμερος, ἀντιδιατιθέμενος, ἀνδραποδιστής, ἀνδροφόνος, ἀνόσιος, ἀνεπίληπτος, ἀντίθεσις, ἀντίλυτρον, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀπέραντος, ἀπόβλητος, ἀπόδεκτος, ἀποδοχή, ἀποθησαυρίζειν, ἀπρόσιτος, ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἄρτιος, ἀστοχεῖν, αὐθεντεῖν, αὐτοκατάκριτος, ἀφθορία, ἀψευδής, ἀφιλάγαθος, βαθμός, βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, βλαβερός, βέλτιον, βδελυκτός, γραώδης, γυμνασία, γάγγραινα, γόης, γενεαλογία, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, γυναικάριον, διαπαρατριβή, διατροφή, δίλογος, διώκτης, δειλία, δυνάστης* applied to God, *ἑδραίωμα, ἔκγονα, ἐκλεκτοὶ ἄγγελοι, ἐλᾶττον* adv., *ἔντευξις, ἐντρέφεσθαι, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι* to profess, *ἐπαρκεῖν, ἔκδηλος, ἔλεγμός, ἐνδύνειν, ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπισωρεύειν, ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι* with *ζωῆς* or *ζωῆς αἰωνίου, ἐπίορκος, ἐπιπλήττειν, ἔργον* meaning *calling*, *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, εὐμετάδοτος, ἐγκρατής, ἐκστρέφεσθαι, ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας, ἐπιδιορθοῦν, ἐπιστομίζειν, εὐσεβῶς, ἤρεμος, θεοσέβεια, θεόπνευστος, ἱεροπρεπής, Ἰουδαϊκός, ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία, καταλέγεσθαι, καταστολή, καταστρηνιάζειν,*

καυτηριάζεσθαι, κεῖται νόμος, κοινωνικός, κόσμιος, κοσμίως, κνήθειν, καλοδιδάσκαλος, κατάστημα, λογομαχία, λογομαχεῖν, μακάριος applied to God, μαρτυρία καλὴ a good confession, ματαιολογία, μετάληψις, μητραλῴης, μονοῦσθαι, μάμμη, μεμβράνα, μηδέποτε, μακαρία ἔλπις, ματαιολόγος, νεόφυτος, νοσεῖν, νεωτερικός, ξενοδοχεῖν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, ὁμολογουμένως, οἰκουργός or οἰκουρός, ὀργίλος, ὀρθοτομεῖν, περιούσιος, περιφρονεῖν, πρεσβύτις, καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι, πατραλῴης, περιπείρειν, πλέγμα, πορισμός, πραϋπάθεια, πρόκριμα, πρόσκλησις, πιστοῦν, πραγματεία, προφήτης applied to a heathen poet, ῥητῶς, σκέπασμα, στόμαχος, στρατολογεῖν, συγκακοπαθεῖν, σώζειν εἰς, elsewhere only σώζειν, or with ἐκ, ἀπό, σωφρόνως, σώφρων, στυγητός, σωτήριος, σωφρονίζειν, σωφρονισμός, τεκνογονεῖν, τεκνογονία, τεκνοτροφεῖν, τυφοῦσθαι, ὑπόμνησιν λαμβάνειν, ὑδροποτεῖν, ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὤν, ὑπερπλεονάζειν, ὑπόνοια, ὑποτιθέναι middle voice, φελόνης, φίλαυτος, φιλήδονος, φιλόθεος, φιλάγαθος, φίλανδρος, φιλότεκνος, φρεναπάτης, φροντίζειν, φιλαργυρία, φλύαρος, φόβον ἔχειν, χαλκεύς, χρήσιμος, ψευδολόγος, ψευδώνυμος.

Characteristic words and expressions are: εὐσέβεια *piety*, which occurs several times in the second epistle of Peter, a post-apostolic production, and only once besides in Acts iii. 12. The cognate verb εὐσεβεῖν is also found in Acts, besides 1 Tim. v. 4; while εὐσεβῶς is only in the pastoral epistles. All are later words, as is also the adjective εὐσεβής, which is in the Acts and 2 Peter; πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, a phrase without a parallel in Paul's writings; ὑγιής and ὑγιαίνειν applied to correct doctrine; μύθοι *fables*, only in 2 Peter besides, which shows that is it a late term; ζητήσεις, *disputed questions*; ἐπιφάνεια *the appearing* or second advent, for παρουσία; δεσπότης instead of Paul's κύριος, *master*; σώφρων and its derivatives; γάγγραινα and νοσεῖν the opposite of *sound doctrine*; σωτήρ *Saviour*, applied to God; ἀρνεῖσθαι, never used by Paul, though it occurs in the epistles to the Hebrews, 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude; παραιτεῖσθαι *to*

reject, not used by Paul but by Luke and the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews; *περιϊστάναι to avoid*, never used by Paul; *προσέχειν* with the dative, never used by Paul, but by Luke, and the authors of the epistle to the Hebrews and 2 Peter; *ὑπομιμνήσκειν to put in mind*, occurring in 2 Peter, 3 John, and Jude, but not in Paul's epistles; *ἐκτρέπεσθαι to be turned away*, only once in the epistle to the Hebrews besides; *βέβηλος profane*, only used in Hebr. xii. 16 besides; *διαβεβαιοῦσθαι περί τινος to affirm of a thing*; *ἀνόσιος unholy*; *γενεαλογίαι genealogies*; *ματαιολογία, ματαιολόγος vain talk, a vain talker*; *λογομαχίαι disputes of words*; *λογομαχεῖν to dispute about words*; *κενοφωνίαι vain babblings*, *παραθήκη a deposit*; *ἀστοχεῖν to swerve from*; *τυφοῦσθαι to be lifted up*. A considerable number of words are employed here and only in Hebrews, Acts, 2 Peter, or Luke's gospel besides. The writer of the third gospel and the Acts has many terms identical with those in the epistles before us; which is natural, as he was a Pauline Christian of the second century.

The argument founded upon words or phrases peculiar to these epistles is often neutralised by alleging the analogy of others. In that to the Galatians 57 occur, in that to the Philippians 54, and in the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians together 143. But this is a mechanical objection that will not stand examination. Many of the expressions peculiar to the epistles before us do not arise from the necessity of having representatives of new ideas or new ways of uttering old thoughts, but from another and later cast of thought unlike Paul's at any period of his known life; from an ecclesiastical atmosphere foreign to apostolic times, or from the idiosyncrasy of a writer or writers who did not possess the mental opulence which is satisfied with fewer compound terms. The quality as well as the quantity of words should be considered. If it be, no proper analogy can annul the force of the argument, however it may weaken

it. Thus the terms translated *fables* and *genealogies* could not have been used by the apostolic writers, because the things in which they originated, or to which they apply, had no existence then. The Gnostic movements of the second century explain their use. The same remark applies to the terms rendered *vain jangling*, *vain talkers*, *strifes of words* (logomachies), *to strive about words*, *vain babblings*, *questions*, to which a new subject gave rise.

11. The language and general structure of periods are different from the apostle's. The diction, intersected with new words, is plainer; the construction of periods less involved and parenthetic. The terms are often general and vague in import, derived from the ethical rather than the emotional and intellectual side of the mind; and the sentences are shorter, though less closely related to one another. With all this distinction, apologists find it easy to ascribe the authorship to Paul; and some of their explanations have a degree of plausibility.

It must be conceded that the language of the apostle may have changed. The spirit of Paul was not stereotyped; and the development of new ideas must have created new expressions. Such a man should not be confined to a set of words. It is unreasonable to look for uniform phraseology. Yet the treatment of the various topics that came under review during his public life, or at least during the ten years and upwards that intervened between the Thessalonian and Philippian epistles, the method he follows, the vocabulary he employs, have a definite type and impress. His letters to the churches, with all their individual differences, proceed from the same stock of ideas, and bear the same form. His language did not alter *essentially* during his public life, as far as appears in his genuine epistles.

A variety of considerations are advanced to account

for the change. Difference of design leading to the discussion of different topics, difference of the parties addressed, of the relations sustained by the writer to those parties, and the general circumstances, objective and subjective affecting both at the time of writing. But all this applies to the authentic epistles, which retain yet their substantial identity of language. Neither will age explain the change, for then Paul must have speedily altered; and it is not the custom of old age to create a new stock of words. The difference between letters to churches and to private individuals has been frequently adduced as an explanation. The tone of private and public epistles is certainly different. But these letters present phenomena as striking as those in epistles to churches. A writer repeats what has been said to churches. Surely that fact neutralises the alleged explanation. And is the difference of persons addressed sufficient to account for a different structure of periods? When it is suggested, that it is natural for an instructor writing to his pupils to make compendious references to truths well known; to urge, repeat, expand, what has been the spiritual food of his life; to rest on former conclusions and state great facts in concentrated antithesis, the reply is easy. The writer does not urge, repeat, and expand the doctrine of justification by faith in opposition to works. He relies indeed on *sound doctrine*, falls back upon *the faith* or *wholesome words*; but as he was writing to pupils placed in novel circumstances because they had to deal with serious errors in doctrine, it would have been natural to point out the best method of meeting and refuting such errors. Instead of laying down some general principles for the guidance of Timothy and Titus in settling the churches and preventing the spread of dangerous sentiments within them, the writer is contented with vague and general assertions about remembering and holding fast the form of sound words. He opposes an orthodox creed to heresy, without explaining

what that creed is. The letters are practical not doctrinal; though a leading object in writing them was to oppose false doctrine. If it be said that Timothy and Titus did not need doctrinal instruction; we reply that they had less need of various exhortations in the epistles relating to their own conduct. 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine.' 'Keep thyself pure.' 'Take heed unto thyself.' 'In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works.' 'Let no man despise thee.'

If it be said that the pastoral epistles were autographic, while the others (except those to the Galatians and Philemon) were dictated, and the apostle's difficulty in writing himself led to greater conciseness and abruptness of style, the explanation is unfortunate, because the language of these epistles is generally superior to Paul's in clearness and ease. The assumption of autography favours the spuriousness of the letters.

The change of style is too great to comport with identity of authorship. Imitations of phrases and terms occurring in Paul's authentic epistles, are obvious; their inferiority and feebleness show dependence; while the new constructions and words betray a writer treating of new circumstances and giving expression to new ideas, yet all the while personating the apostle. The alteration is palpable, though the author throws himself back into the situation of Paul the prisoner as much as he can, and often succeeds in doing so.

We cannot attach great weight to the argument that brings up want of logical connection in these epistles, digression, departure from the leading object, and imperfect transitions from one thing to another, though such phenomena do occur, because they are not altogether foreign to the apostle's authentic epistles; and the aged prisoner in critical circumstances was not in a mood to attend to his periods or style. A professor seated in his library, with critical eye and tact, will find much that does not square with logic or good construc-

tion of sentences. But the test is not wholly fair; and we cannot but feel that the microscopic genius of De Wette has been too severe, requiring more from the writer with the waning energy of a closing life than is just. But after many concessions, the reader must feel sudden springs from one thing to another, as at 2 Tim. ii. 14; Titus iii. 8; awkward beginnings of sentences, 1 Tim. iii. 16; want of logical connection, though the inferential particle *therefore* is employed (1 Tim. ii. 1); incorrect connection of ideas (1 Tim. vi. 10); *love of money, which some coveting*;[1] phrases obscurely vague, as 'the commandment' in 1 Tim. vi. 14; and the lame construction in 2 Tim. iv. 1, where we must supply the verb again in a somewhat different sense: '*I testify* before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, and (*call to witness*) his appearing and his kingdom.' The construction, style, vigour, fitness of expression, are undoubtedly inferior to Paul's; and cannot, we think, without detriment to his intellect, be ascribed to him, however enfeebled he may have been in body by the life of suffering he had led.

12. The false teachers spoken of in these epistles betray a post-apostolic time. It is unnecessary to show that the pastoral epistles do not speak of three or four sects of errorists but of one. If any doubt the fact of their belonging to one party, we refer him to Mangold for proof.[2] But what is the sect pointed at? Who are the heretics opposed? The answer is difficult. Four opinions are entertained respecting them.

(*a*). Some think that they were Christianised cabbalists, a view maintained by Baumgarten.

(*b*). Others, as Calov and Wiesinger, believe that they were Pharisaic Judaists.

(*c*). Michaelis thinks that they were Essenes, an opinion strongly advocated by Mangold.

[1] φιλαργυρία ἧς ὀρεγόμενοι.
[2] Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe, 1856.

(*d*). Others think that they were Gnostics. Hammond and Mosheim formerly, Baur more recently, have supported this view, which is the most general and probable one. But there is room for much diversity of opinion within its limits. The errors combated may be the seeds of Gnosticism, its incipient outlines and features; or they may be Gnosticism proper. In the former case the authenticity of the epistles is conserved; in the latter it is necessarily abandoned. Thus Reuss believes that the errorists were forerunners of the Gnostics proper, forming a necessary link between apostolic Christianity and Gnosticism, and belonging to the last decade of Paul's life; while Baur supposes that Marcionite Gnosticism is combated, reducing the date of the epistles to the middle of the second century or later. It is nearly impossible to examine the question without a bias for or against the epistles' authenticity. In discussing it, we remark—

First. That the heretics are pointed at indefinitely as *some* (1 Tim. i. 3, 6, 19; iv. 1; v. 15, 24; vi. 21), *many* (Titus i. 10), *gainsayers* (Titus i. 9). In 2 Tim. ii. 17 two are named, Hymeneus and Philetus.

Secondly. In speaking of them the writer fluctuates between the present and future. In 1 Tim. i. 6 they are supposed to exist already; while in iv. 1 it is implied that they are future. In 2 Tim. iii. 1 they are referred to as future; whereas in iii. 5, &c., they are considered to be present. In the allusions to them, present and future run into one another.

Thirdly. They are *judaising* (1 Tim. i. 7; Titus i. 10, 14; 2 Tim. iv. 4), and also *anti-judaising* (1 Tim. iv. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 18). It is superfluous to observe that these heretics are very different from the judaisers combated by Paul in his epistles to the Galatians and Romans. Their legality was of another kind.

Fourthly. They were Christian Gnostics, whose prevailing characteristic cannot have been anti-jewish, but

rather the reverse. Gnostic series of aeons are denoted by the word *genealogies* (1 Tim. i. 4), as Tertullian and Irenaeus long ago perceived. They forbad marriage and the eating of flesh, not as if they were Jewish ascetics, Essenes or Therapeutae, but rather as anti-jewish Gnostics, who had an aversion to the creatures of God (iv. 3, 4). They were addicted to a certain gnosis (vi. 20). They asserted that the resurrection was spiritual, and so denied the resurrection of the body (2 Tim. ii. 18). as well as the universality of the divine purpose of salvation, which they probably restricted to one class, the *pneumatic* Christians (1 Tim. ii. 4; Titus ii. 11); and rejected the humanity of Christ (1 Tim. ii. 5) according to their docetic views. Consistently with their disavowal of marriage, they were averse to women's bearing of children (1 Tim. ii. 15), so that they looked upon *matter* as essentially evil.

Fifthly. Gnosticism, as here spoken of, seems to have been beyond its incipient state. The germs of the heresy were in the apostolic period. It existed in embryo then. Here it is in a state of historical development. When Timothy is exhorted to avoid 'oppositions of science falsely so called,' and Titus is to reject an 'heretic,' the gnosis or science, and the heresy, had assumed a definite shape. The appellation *gnosis* was then a current one, denoting a peculiar doctrinal tendency. Prohibition of marriage, abstinence from flesh, and denial of the resurrection of the body, are definite, pointing to a later phase of Gnosticism; for we know that Saturninus and Marcion abstained from marriage and flesh. As far therefore as we can see, the heretical Gnostics combated had unfolded their views with a degree of distinctness that implies progress, so that they could not belong to the lifetime of the apostle Paul, nor to the first century. Incipient Gnosticism fails to satisfy the conditions of the case. How far they should be put in the second is uncertain. Baur supposes that Marcion

and his adherents are referred to, and dates the epistles after the middle of the second century. To show this he appeals to 1 Tim. i. 7, 8; Titus iii. 9; 1 Tim. iv. 3, taken along with Titus i. 14, and 1 Tim. vi. 20; 1 Tim. iii. 16. The first two passages do not imply that the heretics were opponents of the law but rather the reverse, and so disagree with Marcion's sentiments. As to 1 Tim. iv. 3, and Titus i. 14, they certainly imply a dualist view of the world on the part of the errorists; but that was not peculiar to Marcionite Gnosticism. The expression in 1 Tim. vi. 20, *antitheses* of gnosis, agrees remarkably with Marcion's view, for he set the law and the gospel opposite one another in a work so called;[1] but probably the word translated *oppositions* means dogmas opposed to sound doctrine, not *antitheses* in the specifically Marcionite sense. In 1 Tim. iii. 16, Baur thinks that the propositions are so arranged as that the one is Gnostic, the next anti-gnostic, every second one of the six being anti-gnostic, which is more ingenious than natural. His strongest argument is drawn from a passage of Hegesippus, given by Eusebius, which we have already noticed.

On the whole, we hesitate to adopt the Baurian hypothesis as too definite, and involving too late a date. It certainly gives a precision to the question, taking it apparently from subjective to objective ground, and establishing a distinct purpose on the part of the writer. Were the unknown author a Pauline Christian at Rome, having a conciliatory motive so that he does not censure Petrine Christianity, and an opponent of Marcion's Gnosticism, the origin of the epistles becomes pretty clear. But the evidence by which the critic arrives at his conclusion is not convincing. His attempt to get to the positive is praiseworthy; we cannot adopt

[1] Hahn has collected all the fragments of Marcion's lost work Antitheses. Koenigsberg, 8vo, 1823.

the result. The epistles point to a time prior to A.D. 150, probably to A.D. 120. The vague way in which the writer alludes to the heretics, his speaking of them as present, and again as past, the want of clearness and colour in his references, arise from the partially developed state of their opinions and from his personification of Paul who could not describe future heretics in unmistakable features. In one place where the language is most distinct, the spirit of prophecy is said to speak *expressly*, not the prophetic spirit of Paul, though he had the gift himself, which shows he was not the writer. He would not appeal to the spirit of prophecy outside himself.

13. If it be asked whether the three epistles proceeded from one author or more, the answer must be in favour of one, though there is a perceptible distinction between them. The first epistle to Timothy is inferior in composition and style to the other two. It has therefore been more attacked than they, after Schleiermacher judged it so unfavourably. It is certainly more obnoxious to criticism. But Schleiermacher went too far in maintaining that it was compiled out of the second to Timothy and that to Titus. It is enough to assume, that being composed after the others, the author sometimes repeated himself. Having already treated of the false teachers twice, he could hardly avoid expressing the same ideas, and using the same or like words. But the desire of variety, and the part he performed, caused him embarrassment. The fact that he had to handle an old theme, combined with that of his imitating one so highly gifted as the apostle, made the last essay inferior to its predecessors. Had he been free to write as he could have wished, independently and copiously, he might have produced a better epistle.

The second epistle to Timothy is tolerably well written, and breathes an apostolic spirit, so much so that its authenticity was held by Schleiermacher. Some who do

not support the authenticity of the whole, attribute parts of it to the apostle, either chap. iv. 9–22, with Weisse; or i. 1, 2, 15–18; iv. 9–18, with Hausrath.

That to Titus is also suitable in part to the circumstances supposed, and written with some ability, though not equal to the second to Timothy. While Schleiermacher believed in its authenticity, some, loath to give it up entirely, have perceived an authentic nucleus in iii. 12–15.

The similarity of the three is too great, and the circumstances implied in them too late, to allow of the authenticity of one, or of one and portions of two, at the expense of the others. The three must be classed together. Eichhorn carried out Schleiermacher's critical process to its legitimate result, in denying the authenticity of all.

It has been already stated that the first epistle to Timothy was written the last of the three. With this agrees the fact of Hymeneus's mention in the second epistle as an errorist, without any special censure; while in the first he had been 'delivered to Satan.' Assuming the identity of Alexander the coppersmith in 2 Tim. iv. 14, and the Alexander of 1 Tim. i. 20, we also see that in the latter epistle (not the former), he had been visited with the severest punishment the apostle could inflict, i.e. he had been solemnly excommunicated. The chronological order of the epistles is Titus, second Timothy, first Timothy. The intervals of time between them cannot be filled up. But the matter is of no importance, since they are brief. The close of the second epistle to Timothy shows that the writer intended it to be the last, as he speaks of his approaching death in touching terms. Hence the so called first epistle must have arisen from an after-thought, the author resuming his pen to address Timothy again in Paul's name.

We are contented to rest in the result, that the author was a Pauline Christian who lived probably at Rome in

the first part of the second century, and wished to speak against the Gnostic views of that time from a practical, more than a theoretical point of view. Like many others of his day, he chose the name of an apostle to give currency to his sentiments. Being impressed with the idea that a united church with sound doctrine was the best safeguard against heresy, he chose Timothy and Titus as the superintendents of churches, to whom Paul might address directions about ecclesiastical organisation and heretical views. In all this there was no dishonesty, because the intention was good. The device was a harmless one. Though it misled many, the object of the author was gained. The age was very far from being able to estimate evidence. The orthodox Church was not critical, neither was it averse to receive publications favourable to itself. Heretics were more critical, though liable to caprice. The epistles must have commended themselves immediately as Paul's; for though he was long dead, the writings afterwards pronounced canonical were not yet separated from the uncanonical, and comparatively few knew of the existence of a fresh work for several years. Besides, they present a form of Paulinism, though a later one. If it be parallel to the characteristic tendency of the fourth gospel, the first readers lived in the same atmosphere, and were therefore less liable to perceive the departure of it from Paul's own doctrines. The doctrinal system of the epistles differs both from genuine Paulinism and from the Johannine type; but it is nearer the latter than the former. Christianity in conflict with persecutions and heretics is the power which obtains the victory over the world—the absolute and only truth, in whose maintenance all proper means should be applied—such is the common ground of the pastoral letters and fourth gospel. But the former want the mystic element of the latter. They have not its peculiar Gnosticism, being practical not theoretical. A development of Paulinism, not the final one of the gospel, they

reflect Hellenic culture feebly, and lack an Alexandrian philosophy.

The supposititious character of the pastoral epistles is held by critics not belonging to the Tübingen school, as well as by that school generally. Not only De Wette, but Ewald, Mangold, and Meyer, favour it. Holtzmann himself leans to it. The authenticity has found recent defenders in Lange, Otto, and Laurent, especially the second; yet their advocacy will not expedite a settlement of the question on the conservative side. The stream of criticism has set in too strongly against them to be successfully resisted. When moderate theologians like Usteri, Lücke, Neander, Bleek, and Rudow give up the authenticity of the first epistle to Timothy, the other two letters cannot be saved from their companions' fate, with any logical consistency. The question is simply a critical, not a theological one. Paul's glory is not lessened by its settlement either way. It appears to us, that his reputation is enhanced by attributing the pastoral epistles to a later disciple.

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1847; Huther, 1859; Wiesinger, 1850; Mack, 1841; Ellicott, 1861.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CONTENTS.

THIS BOOK may be divided into two parts, viz. i.–xii., and xiii.–xxviii. The former represents Peter as the prominent apostle; the latter, Paul. It commences with the ascension of Christ, and is not so much a continuation as an amplified edition of Luke xxiv. 50–53. The narrative of the gospel is not properly continued till Acts i. 15. In writing a second book, the evangelist repeats and enlarges a few particulars given at the end of the first. His description of the circumstances attending the ascension differs materially from the former one. According to the gospel, the time of that event was the day of the resurrection; according to the Acts, the fortieth day after. According to the former, it took place at Bethany; according to the latter, from the Mount of Olives. The words also spoken by Jesus are not the same; nor were they uttered at the same place, for the gospel represents them as spoken at Jerusalem; the Acts, on the Mount of Olives.

After the ascension, the apostles returned to Jerusalem, and continued along with the disciples in prayer. On Peter's proposal to fill up Judas's place in the apostolic college, the lot fell upon Matthias.

The 2nd chapter describes the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples and its effect, with the dis-

course of Peter, which was the means of converting three thousand souls (ii. 1–41). That the writer means to express the fact, that the people on whom the Holy Ghost fell, were suddenly and miraculously endowed with the gift of speaking languages which they had not learned, appears plain from his words. The expression, 'to speak with other tongues,' equivalent to Mark's 'to speak with new tongues' (xvi. 17), is contrasted with 'in our own tongue, wherein we were born,' i.e. our mother-speech. It is true that the evidence for foreign languages being really spoken is contained entirely in the verses relating to the conflux of foreigners, and their remarks on what they heard; but the writer evidently adopted the opinion expressed by the foreigners, as Kenrick admits. The chapter closes with a description of the life of the primitive believers. Having a community of goods, the needs of all were supplied (ii.).

The first persecution, which fell on the two heads of the new church, was occasioned by the cure of a lame man by Peter at the gate of the temple. The people ran together to Peter and John, greatly wondering, and were addressed by the former in bold language. But the priests and Sadducees came upon them, and put them in prison. The next day they were examined before the Sanhedrim, whose sentence was, that they should be be forbidden to speak thereafter in the name of Jesus. Having been dismissed, they went to their friends, whose prayer on the occasion is given (iii. iv.).

The account of the sudden deaths of Ananias and Sapphira represents them as punishments supernaturally inflicted by Peter, and cannot be explained on other principles. The miraculous power put forth by the apostles is said to have led to another persecution. They were imprisoned by the Jews, but supernaturally set free during the night by an angel. In the morning, being taken before the Sanhedrim, and having answered as before, they were dismissed, agreeably to the counsel of

Gamaliel, after they had been chastised and forbidden to teach in the name of Jesus (v.).

The 6th chapter describes the election of seven deacons, whose office was to relieve the apostles by attending to the pecuniary affairs of the Church; and the persecution of Stephen, one of the number, who preached with great power, and did many miracles. Having been brought before the Jewish council, this zealous convert made his defence, and was stoned.

The charge against him is alleged to be blasphemy against God and the law of Moses, though the witnesses that said so are styled false witnesses. It is plain that he had expressed himself in a way that appeared irreligious to the zealous Jews respecting the temple-worship and the law, by announcing the approaching downfall of Mosaism, occasioned by the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. He had stated the essential opposition between Judaism and Christianity, though the form which that opposition took in his mind and speech does not appear very clearly from the latter. The discourse has two parallel sides, an enumeration of the benefits which God had conferred on the people from the earliest time, and the conduct of the people toward God. The relation of the Jewish nation to Jehovah is its leading idea. Hence it takes a historical course, consisting of two parts, one embracing the period from Abraham to Moses, the other from Moses till that of David and Solomon. But how was this general point of view related to Stephen's own cause? He was accused of speaking disrespectfully of divine institutions; how does the historical summary of the Jewish nation meet that accusation? In showing that his enemies resisted the will of God by their obstinate attachment to outward forms. The people were from the beginning unable to understand the divine procedure, because they rejected Moses and fell away into idolatry. The ceremonial and sensuous element prevailed over their minds. It continued to do so

with respect to Solomon's temple, for they clung to such service with an obstinacy that prevented them from perceiving the spiritual nature of Jehovah's worship. Thus the Jews are charged by Stephen with resistance to religion properly so called. His defence is a counter accusation. While they blamed him for hinting that the theocracy would be abolished in Christ, and the temple-service cease, he shows even from the Old Testament their ingratitude to God, and inability to apprehend the spiritual nature of religion, by a stiff-necked adherence to ceremonial institutions. He justifies the new religion in opposition to the old by the Scriptures themselves, and virtually admits the charge brought against him of irreligiousness in hinting at the abolition of the Jewish economy (vi. vii.).[1]

The death of Stephen was the commencement of a general and violent persecution of the church at Jerusalem, whose members were all driven from the city, except the apostles. By this means Christianity was carried into Samaria, where Philip preached Christ to the people, and wrought miracles among them. Even Simon the sorcerer believed and was baptized. Peter and John, whom the apostles at Jerusalem sent to Samaria, imparted the Holy Spirit to the new converts by the imposition of hands. This leads to Peter's coming in contact with Simon, whose corrupt disposition he denounces. Philip seems to have returned with the apostles to Jerusalem, whence on the way to Gaza he joined an Ethiopian eunuch, and converted him to Christianity. One conspicuous effect of Stephen's martyrdom was the conversion of Paul, described in the 9th chapter, which took place suddenly, as he was on his way to Damascus. Smitten with blindness, his companions led him by the hand into Damascus, where Ananias, guided by a vision, restored his sight, and imparted to him the

[1] See Baur's Paulus, pp. 41–59.

fulness of the Holy Spirit. Having remained some days with the disciples, he preached in the synagogues with power. But after a considerable time he was compelled to fly, in consequence of a plot to slay him. Coming to Jerusalem, he was at first avoided by the Christians there, till Barnabas introduced him to the apostles, to whom he became a powerful auxiliary in proclaiming the name of Jesus. Here, however, a new conspiracy to take away his life induced the brethren to send him to Caesarea and Tarsus (viii.–ix. 1–31).

This is followed by an account of Peter's journey to visit the saints at Lydda, where he healed Eneas, who had been lame for eight years; and recalled Tabitha to life in Joppa (ix. 32–43).

Peter's converting and baptizing Cornelius represents him as the first apostle who introduced Gentiles into the Christian Church (x. 1–xi. 18).

Saul had vanished from the history at ix. 30, but reappears in xi. 19–30, a paragraph relating to the inhabitants of Antioch who received the gospel. Barnabas having been sent from Jerusalem to Antioch, brought Saul from Tarsus to that place, where the two spent a year in evangelising the people. A famine in Judea led them to undertake a journey to Jerusalem with a contribution for the poor brethren.

xii. 1–24, relating to the persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem, the capture and miraculous deliverance of Peter and Agrippa's death, serves as an introduction to the more extended account of Paul which follows. The two delegates returned to Antioch, taking John Mark with them, whence they set forth on their first missionary journey. In Cyprus, Saul encountered Elymas a Jewish sorcerer, whom he smote with blindness. On this occasion the proconsul Sergius Paulus believed. The writer now calls the apostle *Paul*, for the first time, supposing perhaps, that the name was changed in honour of one who was the most distinguished of his

early converts. Leaving Cyprus, Paul and his companions came to Perga and thence to Antioch in Pisidia, where he presented himself in the synagogue and addressed the Jews in a speech which began with the history of the people in Egypt, and coming down to David announced Jesus as a Saviour, attested as such by his death that took place agreeably to prophecy, and by his resurrection. But on the next sabbath when the gospel was preached, the Jews violently opposed, and contradicted the evangelical message, on which account the speakers turned to the more docile Gentiles. Persecuted by the Jews, Paul and Barnabas left Antioch and came to Iconium, where they preached with success till forced to fly to Lystra and Derbe. At the former place, Paul healed a cripple, in consequence of which the inhabitants took him and Barnabas for Hermes and Zeus, and had almost offered sacrifice to them. Jewish emissaries from Antioch and Iconium persuaded the people that the apostle was an enemy to religion, so that he was stoned, and soon left Lystra for Derbe, whence he returned to the place he set out from, by Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, Pamphylia, Perga, and Attalia (xiii. xiv.).

The 15th chapter relates that while Paul and Barnabas abode at Antioch after their first missionary tour, a dispute arose about the obligation of the Gentile converts to observe circumcision and the law of Moses. To settle the matter, the two, with some others, were sent to Jerusalem, where, in an assembly of the apostles and elders in which Peter and James spoke, it was resolved that the Jewish-christians only should conform to the law; but that the Gentile converts should be absolved from it, with the exception of abstinence from food offered to idols, blood, things suffocated, and fornication. An epistle to this effect was brought back, which rejoiced the church at Antioch.

Some time after, the apostle of the Gentiles under-

took a second missionary journey, not with Barnabas, for they separated on account of Mark, but with Silas. On this occasion he went through Syria, Cilicia, and Lycaonia, circumcising Timothy in the last-mentioned place, and publishing the Jerusalem decrees. Traversing Phrygia and Galatia, and forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach in proconsular Asia, they came through Mysia to Troas, where Paul had a night-vision inviting him to Macedonia. Accordingly he sailed for Macedonia, and stopped at Philippi. Here, as Paul and his friends were going to the place of prayer they met Lydia, a damsel possessing powers of divination, from whom the apostle expelled the demon. Enraged at the loss of their income through her, the masters of this slave took Paul and Silas before the praetors, who had them scourged and imprisoned. But at midnight, when the two captives had prayed and sung praises, there was an earthquake that opened all the prison doors and released the inmates from their fetters; which occurrence, united to the conduct and words of the apostles, made so great an impression on the gaoler, that he took them into his house and entertained them, becoming a believer and receiving baptism with his household. Next morning the praetors told them that they might leave the prison. But Paul, appealing to his privilege of Roman citizenship, would not accept the offer till the magistrates themselves conducted them forth and so publicly acknowledged that they had acted unjustly (xv. 36–xvi.).

Leaving Philippi, the brethren came to Thessalonica, where the unbelieving Jews, as usual, stirred up an opposition, which led to their speedy departure from the place, following them even to Berea, where a good reception had been given to their message. After this, Paul appears at Athens alone, and delivers a speech on Mars' hill, showing considerable dialectic skill and reflection. Christianity is contrasted with polytheistic heathenism; but the doctrine of the resurrection, to which

the speaker soon brings his hearers, proves an effectual stumbling-block to their minds, as might have been foreseen, and the discourse is broken off (xvii.).

From Athens, Paul came to Corinth, where he found Aquila and his wife, whom he seems to have converted to Christianity. Here he met with violent opposition from the Jews, who raised a tumult and charged him before the proconsul Gallio with teaching that Jesus was the Messiah. The governor prudently declined to interfere in religious disputes. After staying a year and a half at least in Corinth, Paul sailed to Syria along with Priscilla and Aquila; first shaving his head in Cenchrea, as he had a vow resting upon him. He made but a brief stay in Ephesus, landed at Caesarea, went up to Jerusalem to be present at one of the feasts, and returned thence to Antioch (xviii. 1–22).

The time now spent in Antioch was probably short. The apostle departing on his third missionary tour, went over Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening the minds of the disciples in the new religion (xviii. 23).

As an introduction to the account of Paul's visit to Ephesus at this time, we have a notice of Apollos an Alexandrian Jew, who was instructed more accurately in Christianity by Aquila and Priscilla, and passed over to Corinth where he co-operated with the Christians in promulgating and defending the truth. After he had left Ephesus, Paul arrived there, and found certain disciples of John the Baptist whom he taught and had rebaptized, communicating to them at the same time the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, by which they spoke new languages and prophesied. Here the apostle preached with much success, extending his efforts to the province itself. For about three years he laboured in the capital or surrounding parts, and performed uncommon miracles; sweat-cloths and aprons which had touched his body being supposed to have healing efficacy. Certain Jewish exorcists were defeated in their

attempt to imitate the apostle; since the evil spirit whom they tried to expel urged the possessed man to leap on and overpower them. In consequence of this event many believed; those who practised magic arts burned the books containing their mysteries—books worth the very large sum of fifty thousand drachmae. About the time of Paul's intended departure, Demetrius excited a tumult; the mob seized two of the apostle's companions and rushed to the theatre; but the city-recorder succeeded in quelling the uproar, and dispersing the multitude (xviii. 24–xix.).

Leaving Ephesus, Paul proceeded to carry out his previous design of visiting Jerusalem, after passing through Macedonia and Achaia. Accordingly he came to Greece, and abode there three months. To avoid an ambuscade of the Jews, he took the circuitous route through Macedonia to Asia Minor. Sailing from Philippi he came to Troas, where he preached on the first day of the week, and restored to life a young man who had fallen down from an upper window. From Troas, Paul and his friends came to Assos, Samos, and Miletus. From Miletus he sent for the Ephesian elders and addressed them in touching words, reminding them of his fidelity in the ministerial office and his conduct among them. Telling them that they and he were about to be separated for ever, he charged them to watch carefully over the flock, soon to be exposed to many dangers. The chapter concludes with a notice of his prayer, and re-embarkation (xx.).

Continuing the voyage to Tyre, the apostle and his companions proceeded thence to Ptolemais, Caesarea, and Jerusalem. In the metropolis of Judea the elders of the church advised him to join four men who had undertaken a vow, in the same course of public consecration; that the people might see he still adhered to the Jewish law. But when the seven days were on the eve of completion, the apostle was seized by the Jews

and dragged from the temple. In the act of their beating him the Roman commander had time to rescue him from their hands. Having got permission from the chief captain to address the people from the stairs leading up to the castle, he spoke in Hebrew, narrating his Jewish education and early zeal for the law, his conversion, and how he subsequently worshipped in the temple. When he came to mention his mission to the heathen, they would listen no longer. The chiliarch, thinking him guilty of some flagrant offence, determined to extort a confession from him by scourging, but desisted on hearing that the prisoner was a Roman citizen. After he had been kept in chains during the night, he was sent for examination to the Sanhedrim, and made his defence before them. But he was interrupted at the commencement of it, by the high priest Ananias. To secure the voice of the majority he resorted to an artifice, by which he gained the favour of the Pharisees. After this there was a conspiracy of the Jews to slay him, which was disclosed to the Roman commander by a relation of the apostle's, and therefore he was sent to Caesarea under the protection of a military guard by night, with a letter to Felix the governor. Here the apostle was arraigned and made his defence (xxi.–xxiv. 23).

Some days after, he preached before Felix and Drusilla, but was still kept a prisoner till the procurator was superseded in office by Festus, who refused to send Paul to Jerusalem. Hence the Jews went down to Caesarea to bring their charges against the prisoner, which they did accordingly, but were so far defeated in their vengeance by Paul's appeal to Caesar. When Festus conferred with Agrippa on the matter, the apostle was brought before the latter, and spoke as he had done before on the stairs of the castle, dwelling on the wonderful circumstances of his conversion, his innocence, and faithful adherence to the law, so that Agrippa pronounced him innocent (xxiv. 24–xxvi.).

The 27th and 28th chapters are occupied with the apostle's voyage and journey to Rome, his interviews with the Jews there, and captivity. Embarking at Caesarea, he and his companions arrived at Myra, in the south of Lycia. The incidents of the voyage from Myra to Crete are recorded, with the storm that raged after they passed cape Matala, which destroyed all hope of safety. But the apostle cheered his fellow-voyagers with the prospect of deliverance; and though shipwrecked on the island of Malta, those on board escaped to the shore by swimming or by fragments of the vessel. During the winter, they abode in Malta, and then prosecuted the journey to Rome, where the history terminates abruptly (xxvii. xxviii.).

THE TITLE.

The title,[1] *Acts of apostles*, or as D. has it, *Acting of apostles*,[2] is not well selected, and did not proceed from the writer himself. The apostles Peter and Paul are the only ones prominent in the book, John and James being mentioned but incidentally. Hence the title is too comprehensive. It is also too restricted, because individual teachers of Christianity who were not apostles are mentioned more or less fully. Thus Stephen is introduced in vi. 8–viii. 1. In viii. 5–40, Philip's proceedings are described. In xi. 19–30 others are spoken of. Many parts relate to the spread and establishment of Christianity, the organisation of churches, &c., having no immediate reference to apostles. It is not easy, however, to find a pertinent title so short as the usual one. The name of Luke as the author does not appear in uncial MSS. The later and cursive ones alone have it;

[1] *πράξεις ἀποστόλων.*

[2] *πράξις ἀποστόλων.* The common reading is *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, contrary to the Vatican MS. which omits the article. The Sinaitic has *πράξεις* alone.

a fact which proves nothing either for or against the proper ascription of the work to him.

CREDIBILITY.

The general credibility of the Acts can only be decided by an examination of the contents. Does the internal character of the book attest its historic accuracy? It has been thought that the coincidences between it and the Pauline epistles prove the credibility of the narratives; that there are no real discrepancies, but such substantial correspondence as might be expected from independent writers, each narrating the same things in his own manner and with different objects. Since Paley explored this field, many believe that he set the whole argument in its clearest light, and vindicated the credibility of both, by showing that the writer of the history did not copy from the author of the epistles, or *vice versâ*, but that the coincidences are *undesigned*. Such evidence, however, has not appeared satisfactory to all. We shall examine it under the following heads.

1. The general conduct and teaching of the apostle Paul, as set forth in the work.
2. Various particulars in the book disagreeing with other writings.
3. The nature and form of the speeches interspersed.
4. The historical narratives.

1. The first thing that arrests the reader's attention is the repeated journeys which the apostle made to Jerusalem, some of which are satisfactorily explained, others not. Thus in xviii. 21, he would not consent to stay in Ephesus, though requested, but hastened to Jerusalem to keep the approaching feast. 'I must by all means keep this feast that cometh, at Jerusalem,' words strong enough to show the urgency of the occasion. It is true that they are omitted in several MSS., including the Sinaitic, but their genuineness is well attested. In xix.

21, he came to a determination to go to Jerusalem while he was actively employed in Ephesus. In xx. 16, it is said that he was reluctant to spend the time in Asia, because he hasted, if it were possible, to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. In xxiv. 11, 18, he states that he went up to the metropolis to worship. It is unlikely that the apostle would have abandoned the field of his operations at Ephesus or elsewhere, merely for the sake of keeping a Jewish festival at Jerusalem; since we know from his own epistles that he felt the non-obligation of Judaic observances very strongly. A pious Jew would have thought it right to do so or even a Judaising Christian, not the apostle of the Gentiles, with his decided anti-judaic tendencies. The way in which he acted on many occasions savours of the Jew, not of the man who was the great instrument of severing the link between Judaism and Christianity. He shaved his head at Cenchrea because he had a vow. He underwent a process of Nazariteship in the temple, with the view of averting the distrust of the Jewish-christians and of showing that he observed the law; a step which apologists strive in vain to reconcile with his character, and therefore excuse as weak and hasty, though originating in a good motive. Had it been so, he would soon have perceived his error, especially as it led to imprisonment. Yet he alludes to it in the discourse before Felix, without the slightest misgiving (xxiv. 18). It is true that he became as a Jew to the Jews (1 Cor. ix. 20); but that expression does not imply that he performed legal duties without a pressing necessity, or refrained from acting in accordance with his inmost convictions of the law's invalidity. It does not consist with his performing or allowing circumcision, as the book of Acts represents him, because he himself makes circumcision incompatible with salvation by Christ (Gal. v. 2). Not only did he act as a pious Jew; his relations with Jewish-christianity were of the friendliest sort. Immediately

after his conversion, he joined the disciples at Jerusalem, speaking boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus. He received special commendation from the church of the metropolis and their chiefs when he went thither a third time. At his fourth visit he saluted the Jerusalemite church; and at his fifth he had a friendly reception, though prejudices were strong against him. His hostile relations towards Jewish-christians are passed over. Titus is unmentioned, though the apostle had a violent dispute at Jerusalem on his account. In like manner, Peter's appearance at Antioch and public rebuke there, are unnoticed. It is impossible to suppose that this silence is other than intentional. A pious observer of the law could not be a strong opponent of Judaising practices without obvious inconsistency.

According to the epistle to the Galatians, the apostle's mission was to the Gentiles from the very beginning (i. 16). Such is not the portrait given in the Acts, where he appears, immediately after his conversion, in the synagogues at Damascus. Driven thence, he laboured among his countrymen in and about Jerusalem. Visions and revelations were necessary to turn him away from the Jews to the Gentiles, which he did with apparent reluctance. Even on his extensive missionary tours he repaired to the synagogues, as in Cyprus, in Antioch of Pisidia, and Iconium. In Philippi he appeared at a Jewish proseucha on the sabbath-day; at Thessalonica he discoursed to Jews and proselytes on three successive sabbaths; at Berea he went into a synagogue of the Jews; at Athens he frequented a similar place. At Corinth he spake in the synagogue every sabbath-day; and after the arrival of Silas and Timothy there, he testified strongly 'to the Jews that Jesus was Christ.' Not till they opposed and blasphemed, did he turn to the Gentiles. At his second visit to Ephesus, he went into the synagogue as he had done before, and spake boldly there for three months, till obstinate resistance compelled

him to find a more suitable place, a private, not a public synagogue, where Jews as well as Greeks heard him patiently. At Rome he sent for the chief Jews, from whom he afterwards turned away saying, 'Be it known unto you that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that *they* will hear it.' Thus the book sets forth a man who systematically went to Jews first, and continued to address them till he was forced to seek another audience. Instead of being the apostle of the Gentiles from the commencement and uniformly, he sought his own countrymen first, labouring among them till he could do so no longer, and leaving them with reluctance to go to the Gentiles. As the gospel was intended for all alike, Jews and Gentiles, the natural course would have been to seek an audience in places which circumstances indicated as suitable whether among Jews or Gentiles. But the Acts make him go first to the Jews as a rule; the reverse of what we are warranted to infer from his own epistles.

The force of these remarks is not neutralised by saying that it would have been very difficult to get access to heathens except through the Jewish synagogues, and the proselytes there; and that it would not have suited his purpose or showed his tact to have gone to the Gentiles at once and entirely. The revelation of Christ within him was one that led to the Gentiles at once; and was further sanctioned by the elder apostles. Did he not see his special mission at the first? Did he soon abandon the Jerusalem compact, and go to the Jews as he had been doing before, according to the story of the Acts? Was his mind gradually opened up through the experience of outward circumstances till he forsook his custom of seeking out the Jews first, and confined his labours to the Gentiles? We cannot think so. Neither the principle of expediency nor of mental enlargement explains his conduct.

The nature of his teachings corresponds to his con-

duct. It is mostly apologetic. Brought into contact with the Jews, resisted and persecuted by them, he had to defend himself against their accusations and appeal to their Scriptures. This is exemplified in the 22nd, 24th, and 26th chapters. At Lystra and Athens however, he spoke to Gentiles, so that we have the means of comparing his doctrine there with that which his epistles set forth. On both occasions the fundamental principles of monotheism are inculcated. There is this difference, however, that the Athenian discourse refers to the Messianic judgment, the certainty of which is said to be confirmed by the resurrection of Christ. In neither is there anything distinctively Pauline, such as justification by faith and redemption by the blood of Jesus. The discourse addressed to the Ephesian elders at Miletus is chiefly apologetic; the only allusion to the nature of the apostolic teaching at Ephesus being in xx. 21, where the Pauline idea of the death of Christ is expressed. With this exception, nothing distinctively Pauline appears in it. The short address to the superstitious inhabitants of Lystra is general, and could not be expected to contain peculiar Pauline sentiments. At Antioch in Pisidia, the discourse made before the Jews presents at the close the Pauline doctrine in a gentler form. 'Be it known unto you therefore, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from *all* things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses' (xiii. 38, 39). This is the only passage in all the speeches put into Paul's mouth in the Acts, where there is a distinct reference to justification by faith. Elsewhere the announcement of the resurrection of Jesus, and his Messiahship founded upon the Old Testament, form the substance of his doctrine. At Thessalonica he argues that the anointed One must needs suffer and rise from the dead, identifying him with Jesus.

Before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa, the apostle speaks from the same point of view. The Messiahship of Jesus is the main topic at issue between him and the Jews. The invalidity of the law in respect to justification, and the doctrine of justifying faith alone, are hardly alluded to, only once certainly; while repentance, and the doing of works meet for repentance (xxvi. 20), which is declared to be the sum of his teaching to Jews and Gentiles, is rather against that dogma; since the apostle himself applies the term to moral improvement, not to the mental disposition which Christian faith denotes.

The centre and substance of the Pauline ministry consisted of man's universal sinfulness, justification by faith without works, and the abolition of the law. How prominently these appear in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians is plain to every reader. None of them is inculcated in Paul's discourses to Jews and Gentiles recorded in the Acts. One or two passing allusions to faith and the law are overridden by the constant attitude assumed towards the law, which is that of friendly recognition, not of opposition. He is a Pharisee, an orthodox Jew, intent upon the salvation of his own countrymen in the first place, and careful to keep in abeyance the idea of justification by faith alone in opposition to the law. In short, the apostle Peter, speaking in the Acts, goes as far as Paul. He preaches the forgiveness of sins oftener than the latter, calls the law an intolerable burden, and states universal salvation by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ (xv.).

This portrait of the apostle, so unlike that given in his own epistles, suggests the idea that the Acts were not written by an eye-witness and companion, but by a later hand, who had a special motive for the representation he gives; for it is impossible to believe that the regular prominence of certain features and the concealment of others was accidental.

2. Various particulars in the work corroborate the

same conclusion; because they are at variance with the epistles.

The Acts say, that Paul after his conversion remained *some days* in Damascus, and forthwith preached Christ in the synagogues there; that when the Jews sought to kill him he was sent to Jerusalem, where the disciples looked upon him with suspicion till Barnabas convinced them of his sincerity; that he resumed his work of teaching the Jews, till he was again compelled to flee from Jerusalem and return to Tarsus. But in the 4th chapter of the epistle to the Galatians he himself informs us that, immediately after his conversion, he went to Arabia, whence he returned to Damascus, and after three years went up to Jerusalem. The text of the Acts does not admit of the insertion of this Arabian journey even in the 'many days' of the twenty-third verse (chap. ix.), because the days refer, according to the context, to Damascus, not to that place and Arabia also. Still less does it admit of the visit to Arabia being placed before the notice of his active preaching, 'and immediately,' ix. 20; for the direct succession of 'and immediately' after 'some days in Damascus' excludes a journey to Arabia and stay there from between them. What is plainer than the fact, that the historian was unaware of any interruption between Paul's conversion and his active preaching in Damascus; or that his narrative is inconsistent with it? According to the Acts, when Paul came from Damascus to Jerusalem, and the disciples there did not believe he was a convert, a fact that must have been well known at the metropolis if more than three years had elapsed since his conversion, Barnabas brought him *to the apostles*, with whom he was associated for a time. This disagrees with the epistle to the Galatians, which states that he went to Jerusalem *to see Peter*, and saw none else there *except James*. Paul's own account excludes John; that of the Acts includes him. Trip himself admits that there is an

inexactness here.[1] It is vain to assert that the narrative in the Acts confines Paul's preaching to a small section of unbelievers, not the genuine Jews but the Hellenists. If he was with the apostles, 'going in and out' and 'speaking boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus,' he could not have been personally unknown to the majority of the Christians in Jerusalem; nor does the narrative in the Acts restrict his preaching to the Hellenists, who are specified solely with a view to show that they attempted to apprehend him because they had been confounded by his arguments. On the contrary, it is stated in xxvi. 20, that he showed to *them at Jerusalem and throughout all the coasts of Judea*, that they should repent. How does this language consist with a restricted sphere at Jerusalem, excluding Judea? So far from sanctioning such subterfuges of exposition, it makes the contradiction between the apostle's own language, that he 'was unknown by face to the churches in Judea,' and the account which the Acts gives of his first visit to Jerusalem and association with the apostles, more palpably opposite. When Trip says that the language of xxvi. 20 refers to the entire ministry of the apostle among Jews and Gentiles from his conversion till the moment at which the words were spoken, he fails to see that the original Greek discountenances the explanation. 'I shewed' should be in the present-perfect, not a mere past tense, to justify the supposition.

The journey to Jerusalem mentioned in the 2nd chapter of Galatians, if it refers to the events recorded in the 15th chapter of the Acts, presents various disagreements with the latter, which discredit its accuracy. And that it *does* refer to the third visit of the Acts when the apostolic council was held, is apparent from the impossibility of bringing it into connection with the second visit of the Acts (xi. 30), because it

[1] Paulus nach der Apostelgeschichte, p. 70.

was fourteen years at least later than the conversion of the apostle (Gal. ii. 1), probably sixteen or seventeen; whereas the second visit of the Acts took place about the time of Herod Agrippa's death, i.e. A.D. 44, or about nine years after the apostle's conversion. It is also certain, that the visit spoken of in Gal. ii. cannot be that of Acts xviii., i.e. the fourth of the Acts, because the circumstances narrated by Paul himself exclude a previous settlement of the questions in dispute. Had the apostle's own principles respecting the admission of the Gentiles to the privileges of the gospel and the impossibility of justification by the law been formally sanctioned by the heads of the Jerusalemite church, Peter and James, he could not have gone up to Jerusalem to expound his gospel to the pillars of the Church and get their approbation, lest his labours among the heathen should prove to be unwarranted. We are therefore justified in assuming that the journey to Jerusalem in Gal. ii. coincides with that mentioned in the 15th chapter of the Acts. If so, the two do not harmonise, whatever minor points of similarity they present.

The story in the Acts says—

(*a*). That Paul and Barnabas went up as deputies from the church at Antioch; the apostle himself, that he went by 'a revelation.' It is possible to combine the two causes by assuming that the apostle had a revelation prompting him to go, while he and Barnabas were sent by the church—that the external and internal coincided in time and purpose; but it is still remarkable that he makes no mention of the Judaisers who occasioned the appeal to Jerusalem, nor the church's commission with which he was entrusted. If it be said that he had no motive for mentioning the external cause of his journey when writing to the Galatians, that all his concern was a personal one, viz. to defend his preaching of the gospel, we answer, that as the official character of the mission might have led to the misconception that he

acknowledged a relation of dependence on the Jerusalem church, an allusion to the Judaisers at Antioch and the delegation would have corroborated his statement in the 1st chapter of the Galatian epistle, by presenting a favourable opportunity for obviating that misconception.

(*b*). The book of the Acts speaks of a formal transaction, a public council held under the presidency of James, at which there was discussion, terminating in decrees embodied in a particular document, to be communicated to the Gentile-christian congregations in the name of the metropolitan church by special messengers.

The Galatian epistle, on the other hand, speaks only of Paul having a private conference with the heads of the Jerusalem church, who approved of his conduct.

It does not help to remove the difficulty to suppose, with Neander, that the private conference was preparatory to the public meeting; since the silence of Paul himself respecting the decrees of the assembly remains unexplained. Why should he speak of a preparatory measure only, omitting the decisive proceedings? It has been said, that he alludes to the main point, viz. what proved to his Judaising opponents among the Galatians, that the leading apostles were on his side and approved of his principles; but the formal document would have shown it better. Appeal to decrees, the result of speeches delivered openly before the church at Jerusalem by Peter and James, would have silenced his enemies more effectually. Such appeal would have involved no concession; nor would it have interfered with his own determination as final, because the two coincided.

Some find a place in the apostle's statement for a public communication of his principles as well as a private one. If that be correct, a step towards harmony between the two narratives is gained. 'And I went up by revelation, and communicated *unto them* that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to

them which were of reputation,' &c. (Gal. ii. 2). It is alleged that the word *them* refers to the Christians in Jerusalem, to whom the apostle explained his gospel in public. Such public statement before the church agrees with the idea of an assembly described in the Acts. Not to insist on the incongruity of putting the public explanation before the private conference we observe, that the pronoun *them* alludes to *the apostles*, and is interpreted in the following words, 'but privately to them of reputation.' The persons first alluded to indefinitely, are immediately characterised as the leading apostles.

(*c*). The decrees of the council recognised the validity of the law for Jewish-christians. How could Paul have assented to that without opposition? One who affirmed 'if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing,' could not consistently approve of circumcision for Christians.

(*d*). The epistle to the Galatians says that the only thing which the apostles recomended to Paul was, that he should remember the poor at Jerusalem. How could this be, if he consented to the imposition of prohibitions on Gentile-christians from which he declared their deliverance?—for he recommends abstinence from meats offered to idols only where the conscience of weak brethren would be offended by the opposite conduct (1 Cor. ix.). He says in the Galatian epistle, that the elder apostles added nothing to his knowledge; was it no addition to his teaching, that he should inculcate on Gentile-christians abstinence from things he himself pronounces indifferent?

(*e*). The story in the Acts represents the church at Jerusalem with the primitive apostles at its head as a court of appeal, by which disputed questions should be settled, and whose decisions Paul himself acknowledged. He took charge of the decrees, and gave copies of them to the churches he visited. There was much disputation

or discussion in the assembly of the apostles and elders (Acts xv. 2). Does not this imply a conflict of opinion? Does it not presuppose that Paul and Barnabas were on one side with respect to circumcision, and the elder apostles on the other? In the Galatian epistle Paul occupies no subordinate position and submits to no external authority. His principles are settled. He sees clearly the right of the Gentiles to all the privileges of Christianity, and the abrogation of the Mosaic law. He could not, therefore, regard the points in dispute as debatable. 'If ye be circumcised,' he says, 'Christ shall profit you nothing.' He did not need to arrive at the conviction that the Mosaic law and all its ordinances were abolished, as late as fourteen or fifteen years after his conversion. According to himself, he went to Jerusalem agreeably to a divine impulse, for the purpose of explaining his principles to the apostles there. He received no new light from them. Highly esteemed as they were, it made no difference to him. He did not want their judicial sentiments, but their unconditional recognition of his teaching. He even refers to them in depreciatory language, 'those who seemed to be somewhat, whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me,' i.e. whatever authority or reputation they had, was to him a matter of indifference. The terms are depreciatory of the apostles themselves, not of the extravagant claims set up for them by the Judaisers.

(*f*). The story in the Acts leads us to infer, that amid the conflict of opinion the apostles gave way to Paul. Peter, James, and John conceded the point about the necessity of circumcision for Gentile converts. That they did so with some mental reservation, or that they yielded to the force of circumstances for the sake of peace, appears from the whole spirit of the Jewish-christians at Jerusalem, as well as from the subsequent conduct of the apostles themselves.

The book of the Acts also intimates that Paul made

concessions. He consented that the Gentile-christians should come under the command of abstinence from meats offered to idols, and fornication. Thus the decrees of the congress were 'articles of peace.' Concessions were made on both sides.

The declarations of Paul himself do not agree with this. According to the Galatian epistle, his position was one of independence. He yielded nothing. Least of all did he yield the point of abstinence from food offered to idols and fornication; because in the 8th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, he declares the eating or non-eating of such food to be a matter of indifference, and so releases Christians from the obligation. And if fornication be associated with the other points, on account of its close connection with idolatry in the eyes of the Jews; if it be not introduced as a special moral precept but a part of the ancient Jewish opposition to everything that seemed to savour of idolatry; does not the connection imply at least a natural and facile association between fornication and the things specified beside it; with meats offered to idols, for example? Does not the juxta-position imply that the things are all put in the same category? If Paul yielded the point of abstinence from food offered to idols, he conceded that of fornication at the same time. We know, however, that he considered the former a matter of indifference; if so, he would give a fair handle to his enemies for attributing to him the same opinion relative to fornication. It is wholly improbable, therefore, that he would have consented to the position which the decrees give to abstinence from fornication, since the precept is desecrated, to a certain extent, by its collocation.

The difficulty is not solved by alleging the interval of time between the Jerusalem congress and the dates of the epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians. It has been said that the articles of peace, though useful for an emergency, were incapable of effecting or pre-

serving a proper union between the Jewish and Gentile-christians, and were consequently abandoned by Paul in writing to the Corinthians, about ten years after the council. This, however, does not touch the point of fornication, which is connected with food dedicated to idols in the decrees. And how is it that Paul circumcised Timothy a considerable time after he refused to circumcise Titus? Did he retrograde in his principles? Not according to his own epistles. He knew the gospel by an inward revelation from the very first, and did not learn to accommodate his teaching or conduct to improper prejudices. The man who writes in the Galatian epistle, 'I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing,' was not likely to circumcise Timothy in deference to the Jews.

(*g*). Did it imply no difference of belief, when it was agreed that Paul should go to the heathen, while James, Cephas, and John were to be apostles of the circumcision? Were the leading apostles and Paul agreed in the principle, even before the council, that both had the same gospel? Did both recognise the abrogation of circumcision for the Gentiles? Were they alike convinced in their hearts that Gentile-christianity was independent of Judaism?

The answer must be in the negative, for the following reasons. Paul speaks of the primitive apostles in depreciatory language, in his epistle to the Galatians. Peter's subsequent conduct at Antioch indicates a want of thorough conviction that the Gentiles were entitled to exemption from all Judaism. And why did 'certain from James' lead Peter to a Judaising accommodation, if James fully believed in Paul's gospel of the uncircumcision? The persons indicated may indeed have used James's name improperly; but the natural meaning of the impression is, that the apostle sent them; that they had some authority from him which they did not abuse, else Peter would have known it at once. It is

easy to style Peter's conduct a *blamable moral weakness*; but whence did such moral vacillation arise, if not from deficiency of right views respecting Gentile freedom? The disputation in the council leads to the same conclusion, strengthening the opinion that the resolutions were a matter of compromise, without affecting the previous views of the parties respecting the necessity of circumcision. The sentiments of the elder apostles on that head may have been somewhat loosened; those of Paul were untouched. We place more reliance on the epistle to the Galatians and incidental particulars in the Acts of the Apostles, than upon the speeches put into the mouths of Peter and James at the council.

(*h*). It is often said that the Galatian epistle represents Peter's view of Christian liberty respecting the Gentiles as identical with Paul's, or with that which he expressed in the apostolic convention at Jerusalem, because Paul attributes nothing more than *dissimulation* to him and the Jewish-christians at Antioch. Fear of the persons sent by James led him to conceal his true conviction, and act as though he had an opposite one. The language of the epistle does not agree with this. Paul said to Peter, 'If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?' How could Peter *compel* the Gentiles to live like the Jews if he had a conviction of its being wrong and improper? It is needless to talk of the compulsion of example, i.e. indirect compulsion, because the term is inapplicable to that. De Wette well observes, that Peter's dissimulation was an unconscious one, consisting in a want of firmness, clearness, and purity of conviction. The apostle was inconsistent, because he was not clearly persuaded in his mind of the admissibility of the Gentiles to all the privileges of Jewish-christians, even after the council at Jerusalem, in which he expressed views that clearly involved the case at Antioch.

(*i*). Still farther, the Acts say nothing of the efforts made to procure Titus's circumcision, which Paul resisted. And how could Peter at Antioch have acted contrary to the apostolic convention, or Paul have forgotten to appeal to its decisions when he rebuked Peter there? Could not Peter have silenced the zealots who came from James, with a reference to the transactions which had taken place at Jerusalem, the resolutions of the apostolic college, and the approbation of James himself? What need had he to dissemble, or Paul to rebuke him on his own responsibility?

It follows from these remarks, that the second visit of Paul to Jerusalem, the eleemosynary one mentioned in xi. 30, must be unhistorical. The apostle notices all his visits to Jerusalem prior to the writing of the Galatian epistle (Gal. i. ii.). To have omitted any would have defeated the purpose he had in view; and therefore the omission of the second noticed in the Acts is equivalent to its non-existence. If it be said that the twelve were not at Jerusalem then, that it was a season of terror and confusion, and that it would have been impossible for Paul to have conferred with the apostles at such a time of distress, the improbability of the visit is increased, because it would have been all the more to his purpose to have stated the fact of his being prevented from seeing the twelve at the time. The enumeration of all his journeys was necessary to define his relations to the twelve, and silence the calumnies of his opponents in Galatia. The bearing of that enumeration on the visits in question is direct. Barnabas may have gone with the contribution to the poor saints at Jerusalem; Paul did not. Even Meyer allows that the account in the Acts of the second journey is 'partly unhistorical.'

The narrative of the gift of tongues bestowed on the apostles at Pentecost disagrees with the description of it given by the apostle Paul. It is plain that the writer

of the Acts supposes the gift to have consisted in the power of speaking new languages, because the strangers present express their astonishment at hearing Galileans speak in their own tongues. This implies that they understood both the words and ideas of the discourse. But the first epistle to the Corinthians makes the gift of tongues consist in the power of uttering inarticulate sounds in an ecstatic state—the ability to express a collection of unintelligible sounds belonging to no articulate language, under a condition of enthusiastic phrenzy. The contrast which the apostle draws between prophesying and speaking in tongues implies this. The one edifies the church, the other edifies none but the speaker, and needs an interpreter. Were all the members of a church to speak with tongues, and a person unlearned or unbelieving to go in to their assembly, they would seem to him mad; but if all prophesied, the unbelieving or unlearned man would be influenced by what the speakers said, and convinced that God was in them of a truth. The one is an intelligible, the other an unintelligible thing proceeding from an ecstatic state of mind, and rising to a height far above the language of ordinary communication. If the narrative in the Acts be thus opposed to Paul's statements, it cannot be historical. The phenomenon may have had a basis in fact; the turn given to it is of a later type. What the germ of it was we need not stop to inquire; but certainly it was not what M. Renan[1] imagines. Its form and direction proceeded from a symbolical design, the leading idea of the writer being the Pauline universalism which appears in the third gospel. The new theocracy was not like the old, restricted to one nation, but was meant to comprehend all peoples. Unity of language, a characteristic of the primeval state of man in paradise, afterwards destroyed by his rebellion against

[1] Les Apôtres, p. 63.

God at Babel, was to be restored in the Messianic age; a type of which appeared at Sinai, when, according to Philo and the Rabbins, a voice issued from the mount, proclaiming the divine commands to all peoples in the seventy languages of the earth. The miraculous sound from heaven, and fiery, tongue-shaped appearances, are evidently a reflection of the fiery manifestations on Sinai, while we are also reminded of the confusion of tongues at Babel. The Spirit speaks in the tongues of all peoples at his first outpouring on the Church, as a parallel to the language of Sinai. Christianity is for all peoples, having a spiritual language intelligible throughout the earth.

The narrative in Acts xxviii. 17, &c. does not consist with what we know of the church at Rome, from Paul's epistle to it. Three days after the apostle's arrival in that city, he called the chief Jews together and told them his position, saying that he had nothing to accuse his nation of, and had therefore sent for them to explain the circumstances in which he was placed; that it was solely his belief in the hope of Israel, the Messiah, which led to his being a prisoner. Their reply was, that they had not received letters from Judea concerning him; nor had any of his brethren that came spoken evil of him. At the same time they expressed a desire to hear his sentiments; for they knew that the sect he belonged to was everywhere spoken against.

The epistle to the Romans shows that an important church had existed there for several years, a church whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world, consisting of Jewish and Gentile converts. The Judaisers in it were numerous. How then could the Jewish elders at Rome say with truth that they knew little or nothing about the Christian Church and its tenets? Was their knowledge confined to this, 'the sect of the Christians is everywhere spoken against?' Did they never hear of the disciple of Gamaliel adopting

the faith of the new sect and propagating it far and wide among Jews and heathens, till more than twenty years after? The Roman Jews must have been ignorant indeed, if they were not pretty well acquainted with many in the Christian Church—with some, at least, of the Judaisers belonging to it. It is incredible that they could have been so far excluded from intercourse with the world around as not to know something about the Christians in their vicinity, and about that great opponent of Judaism whom his countrymen followed with persevering animosity from place to place.

In vain do apologists resort to conjecture to account for the ignorance about Paul which the Jerusalem Jews evince. His persecution, we are told, was a party or Sadducäic measure, neither avowed nor supported by the great body of the Jewish nation; while those who had visited and returned from Jerusalem, being chiefly of the Pharisaic party, were either ignorant or imperfectly informed of the extraordinary adventures of Paul in their native city. Were not the parties among the Jews united in their opposition to the apostle of the Gentiles?

It is idle to suppose that the leading Jews at Rome dissembled on the occasion, speaking what they knew to be untrue; or that they employed *an official reserve*. The *official* stand-point which Meyer after Tholuck makes for them, supposing that their words, if taken literally, might not be false, is a subterfuge of exposition too transparent to be mistaken. The whole narrative shows that the writer of the Acts supposes their procedure to be honest and open. They appointed a day for conversation; and many went to his lodging to learn the sentiments of the sect he represented.

The improbability of the account given of the apostle on his arrival in Rome is strengthened by what he is made to say: 'I have committed nothing against the customs of our fathers.' All his energies were directed

to the overthrow of the Mosaic institutions, by preaching faith in Christ as a substitute. His feverish anxiety to stand well with his countrymen on the ground of orthodoxy hardly agrees with the character of one whose Christian stand-point was diametrically opposed to the Jewish one. Jews and Judaising Christians alike had shown their animosity against the man whose leading principle was justification by faith without the deeds of the law.[1]

3. The speeches contain ideas unsuitable to the speakers. Sometimes they are arranged in an artificial method, through which we may discover a purpose harmonising with the leading object of the work. Their language is that of the supposed Luke, rather than of Peter or Paul with whom we have data for comparing them. Few critics go so far as to believe that the discourses of the apostles and others are given *verbatim* as they were delivered; or that those thought to be spoken in Aramaean were literally translated. It is generally conceded that they are not reported in the identical terms originally employed, but that various peculiarities of diction belonging to the third evangelist appear in them. The extent to which this freedom is allowed is only a matter of *degree*. If it can be shown that the speeches exhibit many inappropriate particulars, with a recurrence of the same ideas and modes of expression; that their language is substantially that of the writer, not of the speakers as far as we know them; their general credibility will be weakened, and the authorship removed from eye- or ear-witnesses.

Let us look at the discourses of Peter and Paul. The former addressing the assembled disciples in i. 16–22, speaks of his own mother tongue and that of his hearers as 'their proper tongue,' the Aramaean, and supposes that it was strange by adding the explanation of Aceldama in Greek. How could he speak of Aramaean as

[1] Baur's Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, p. 368, *et seq.*

external to his hearers and himself? The context shows that neither the eighteenth and nineteenth verses, nor the latter verse alone, can be a parenthetic explanation of the writer, but must belong to the speech itself. The account of Judas's death also disagrees with that of Matthew in various particulars. Perhaps too Peter would not have put together two separate passages from the Old Testament, and regarded them as a direct prophecy of Judas, contrary to the proper interpretation (verse 20).

The next address of Peter in ii. 14–40 contains a Pauline sentiment, that the heathen were embraced in the Divine promise of favour. 'The promise is to you and to your children and *to all that are afar off*, as many as the Lord our God shall call.' But we learn from the epistle to the Galatians, that Peter had not such ideas about the admission of the Gentiles to the privileges of Christianity till long after; not till Paul had privately explained the success of his work among them. All that we see of him in the epistle to the Galatians is adverse to the notion that his feelings in favour of a liberal inclusion of the Gentiles were original and heartfelt. His vacillations are unlike one whose mind was early inclined to that view. The machinery of visions and revelations introductory to Cornelius's reception shows that the writer did not conceive of Peter as a liberal Christian from the beginning, else he would have emphasised his sentiments more clearly in his first speech. The caution which must be attributed to him, if his liberal feelings respecting the Gentiles were real—the insinuation of a corollary at the end of his two addresses in a dexterous indirect manner (ii. 39; iii. 26), are unlike the rash boldness of his character. In speech he was an unskilful tactician. We must therefore hold, contrary to Mr. Lloyd,[1] that his liberal traits in relation to the Gentiles are transferred from Paul. It is perhaps

[1] Christianity in the Cartoons, p. 134.

admissible that the apostle understood the 16th and 110th Psalms to be direct prophecies of Christ as the Messiah, though that is contrary to historical interpretation; that he took the 110th Psalm as David's composition, which it is not; but his language is very much that of the author of the work. Thus: διὰ χειρῶν (23) occurs in v. 12; xiv. 3; xix. 11; ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης (29), Acts xxvi. 22; xxiii. 1; τῇ δεξίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψωθεὶς (33), comp. v. 31; ἐπαγγελία τοῦ πνεύματος (33), comp. i. 4 and Luke xxiv. 49. The words γνωστὸς (14), μνῆμα (29), ἀσφαλῶς (36), are chiefly used by Luke; and ἀσμένως (14), with δέχεσθαι is also in xxi. 17. In the sayings of Peter, as recorded in chapters iii. 12–26 and iv. 9–12, we observe the ideas and phraseology which are characteristic of Luke himself. Great importance is attached to faith, to the exclusion of human effort; and the expression *first* implies the designation of the gospel for the heathen as well as the Jews. παῖς Θεοῦ, applied to Jesus (iii. 13, 26), occurs in iv. 27, 30; also in iv. 25 of David; and διὰ στόματος (iii. 18, 21), is in i. 16; iv. 25; xv. 7; Luke i. 70. χαρίζεσθαι (iii. 14), comp. xxv. 11, 16; Luke vii. 42; ἄχρι (iii. 21); καθεξῆς (iii. 24); σωτηρία (iv. 12); the construction of the infinitive (iii. 12, 19), show Luke's style. Peter explains the expression *seed* (iii. 25) of Christ, as Paul does in the epistle to the Galatians. It is also improbable that he would have attributed to all the prophets predictions to the effect that the Messiah should suffer in the same way that Jesus did—a suffering Messiah being unknown to the prophets—or that he would have misinterpreted the passage in Deut. xviii. 15, which was not meant for the Messiah, but for some distinguished prophet, or the succession of prophets generally. The probability of the latter may be admitted on the part of the apostle; but he could hardly believe in a predicted suffering Messiah of the Old Testament. The passage in the 118th Psalm (iv. 11)

is explained as in the epistle to the Romans ix. 33; and the declaration, 'there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved,' is characteristically Pauline. The language of Luke also appears in what Peter says in v. 29–32; as is evident from κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου v. 30 (comp. x. 39; xiii. 29).

In x. 34–43 the address of Peter is altogether Pauline. The very commencement, 'I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him,' &c. &c., resembles Paul's 'glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile;' while a succeeding verse (36), 'preaching peace by Jesus Christ,' &c., resembles Ephes. ii. 17. In like manner, the similarity between x. 26 and xiv. 15, x. 42 and xvii. 31, could hardly be accidental. The principles enunciated by Peter in the section are those of Paul; and the conduct of the former in baptizing a heathen is consistent with his sayings. How improbable is it, that he was convinced at this time of the great truth, viz. that the Gentiles were fully entitled to the privileges of Christianity! Not till the latter by means of his missionary experiences, had brought that truth plainly under the notice of the leading apostles at Jerusalem, did Peter, James, and John recognise it. The language here is Luke's, as before.[1]

The general sentiment which we have been deducing from the discourses of Peter, viz. that they betray the mind and style of him who wrote the book, is corroborated by the statement put into the apostle's mouth in xi. 16, viz. that Jesus said, 'John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' The same statement is made by Luke himself, Acts i. 5, which renders it highly probable that the

[1] Compare Mayerhoff's Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, p. 218, *et seq.*

evangelist attributed the words of the Baptist to Jesus incorrectly. None of the gospels assigns them to the latter, all to the former.

Let us now look at Paul's discourses. The first recorded is that at Antioch (xiii. 16–41), the resemblance of which to those of Peter and Stephen is sufficiently obvious. The commencement takes the same historical course as that of Stephen, the leading points in both being the same; the time of the patriarchs, the sojourn of the people in Egypt, and King David (16–22). The second part (23–31) is analogous to the two discourses of Peter in the 3rd and 10th chapters. The next paragraph resembles Peter's first discourse (32–37). Like Peter, Paul lays all emphasis on the resurrection not the death of Jesus, and uses the 16th Psalm in proof of that resurrection. Towards the conclusion, the Pauline doctrine of justification *does* appear (38, 39); but instead of putting justification by faith *in place of* justification by the law, he intimates that the former is a complement to the latter, that it furnishes forgiveness for *all* the sins which the Mosaic law could not. The law left justification incomplete. Thus the only passage in Paul's discourses, plainly setting forth his distinguishing doctrine of justification by faith alone, the genuine Pauline doctrine, announces it but partially. A Judaistic tinge detracts from its true type.

The discourse at Athens (chap. xvii.) is highly artificial. It shows design in its structure. Its leading object was to place the contrast between Christianity and heathenism in the strongest possible light, so that the former should appear immensely superior to the latter, even in the centre of Hellenic culture. So far, the apostle might have presented the two systems in striking antagonism. But it is not easy to see how he could have proceeded so abruptly to the doctrine of the resurrection —a topic that must have been revolting to his hearers— consistently with the wise adaptation he uniformly prac-

tised. He must have known that the idea of a resurrection from the dead would be an effectual barrier to the reception of Christianity on the part of his hearers, as it proved to be. The general circumstances have a resemblance to those connected with Stephen's speech. The one was led before the Sanhedrim, the other before the court of the Areopagus. In the one case, the speech takes a sudden turn, which leads to an abrupt termination. The close of both is sudden. The very fact that Paul was taken before the supreme court at Athens, leads to the suspicion that the discourse and its introductory circumstances evince the writer's skill. For the language used by Luke, 'they took him and brought him unto the Areopagus,' 'standing in the midst of the Areopagus,' and his being termed 'a setter forth of strange gods,' implies that he was taken before the court as a party on trial; an idea also favoured by the conversion of Dionysius, one of the tribunal. The Areopagites had the guardianship of the existing laws, especially those relating to religion. The view of Christ presented in the thirty-first verse is scarcely Pauline. It has indeed a certain analogy to Rom. i. 4, as De Wette observes; but it is still too prosaic and flat for the apostle. 'The man whom God hath ordained, whom he attested to all by raising him from the dead,' is more like the view in ii. 36; iv. 27; x. 38, than the elevated one entertained by the apostle respecting the person of Christ. The suspicion that the mind of Luke is more apparent than that of Paul is partially sanctioned by the language, as *ταυῦν*, verse 30, the paraphrastic participles *ἐπιλαβόμενοι* (19), and *σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ* (22), and the expression, 'his spirit was stirred in him' (16); comp. Luke xxiv. 32; *τί ἂν θέλοι* (18, 20); comp. ii. 12; Luke i. 62; though none of these phrases, except the first, appears in the speech itself but its surroundings. It must be confessed, however, that the speech contains many peculiar expressions, there being no less

than twenty-six words in 19–34, which do not occur in Luke. The fact is explained in part by the quality of the apostle's audience, who were philosophical heathens incapable of understanding or relishing Jewish-christian phraseology. Notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in the whole speech; its incongruities such as, 'forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art or man's device;'[1] its want of applicability to the case of the Epicureans and Stoics; its introduction of the resurrection, which shocked the Athenians, we still think that it is the speaker's to a considerable extent. It is in harmony with the first epistle to the Thessalonians, which we believe to be authentic. If it be a condensed summary of many addresses, the sentiments and part of the language may be Paul's, as they probably are. The materials show skilful distribution, but suffer by undue contraction. The place, the high court, the masters of Athenian wisdom, the partial correspondence between the idea that Jesus and the Anastasis were foreign deities with the accusation against Socrates, the commencing words, show the skill of the writer.

The address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus must be assigned to the writer as much as the speaker, although Neander tries to show that it has been faithfully reported, at least in its essential contents. An apologetic tone pervades it. Instead of a hortatory and didactic element, Paul speaks of himself, setting forth his own

[1] 'A better reason could scarcely be found for regarding the Godhead as in form like a man. So Pindar sang, "One is the race of gods and men, and from one mother are we both descended: the difference that divides us is that of mortality and immortality." Perhaps it may be thought that Paul would admit the formal likeness of man to God in his image, and only denounced the veneration of the senseless image as God; but this would be for him to misconceive indeed the intention and the spirit of the sacred and symbolical art of the Greeks.'—*Lloyd's Christianity in the Cartoons*, p. 377.

conduct among them; as marked by self-denial and fidelity. He mentions the dangers that threatened him, to show that he did not fear death in the Lord's service; and after warning them against false teachers, reverts to his disinterested love and perseverance. The apostle's discourse turns principally on himself, defending and setting forth his own conduct. Even at the close of it, self is prominent. The hortatory element, which one naturally expects, is subordinate (verses 28, 31). How could he thus recommend his own example instead of Christ's? Was it needful or natural to do so before persons among whom he had laboured for three years? In one respect, that of taking no support from those he taught, he could not intend to set before the Ephesian elders an example for their imitation, because he never required this of other teachers, whether they were itinerant missionaries or overseers of churches. The strain of the discourse suits a later stand-point, betraying one who looked at the apostle with reverential feelings, and believed that his great merits had not found appreciation. It is unlikely that he would say decidedly, 'I *know* that ye all shall see my face no more,' which is not fully supported by the twenty-second verse, where he declares that he was ignorant of what was to befall him in Jerusalem; nor consistent with xix. 21, where, after purposing to visit Jerusalem, he says, 'After I have been there, I must also see Rome.' The epistle to the Romans also expresses a strong desire to visit their city, and to proceed thence to Spain (xv.). Even when he was in Rome, he expected to be released from prison, and go to Philippi (Phil. ii. 24). With such strong hopes of future activity, he could scarcely have expressed to these elders a definite foreknowledge of their not seeing him again. The mode too in which the false teachers from among themselves are spoken of, corrupters of Christianity after his departure, is unlike the apostle. Nothing definite is stated; no distinct trait is

given to identify them; the expressions are general and vague, such as 'speaking perverse things.' All this is natural from a later person referring to earlier things and avoiding glaring anachronism; but it is unnatural in the mouth of the apostle, whose experience of opponents was not new. Why does he not allude to *existing* false teachers, especially as they belonged both to the present and the future? Why not refer to those Judaistic errors which he knew to be so dangerous and persistent? Shall we say with Baumgarten,[1] that as all Gentile ecclesiastical heresy had nothing but a Judaistic form, the apostle thought it sufficient that his hearers were acquainted with the decision of the council at Jerusalem? This does not touch the essence of the question. As to the alleged marks of authenticity stated by Neander, their weakness is shown by Zeller.[2] The language alone proves that it was partly framed by the author of the Acts, as δημοσίᾳ (20), xvi. 37; xviii. 28; διαμαρτύρεσθαι (21, 23, 24), ii. 40; viii. 25; x. 42; xviii. 5, &c.; καὶ νῦν (22, 25), iii. 17; vii. 34; x. 5; xiii. 11; xvi..37, &c.; τανῦν (32), iv. 29; v. 38; xvii. 30; τελειοῦν τὸν δρόμον (24); comp. xiii. 25; διέρχεσθαι (25), passim; νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν (31), xxvi. 7; Luke ii. 37; παύεσθαι (31), v. 42; vi. 13; xiii. 10; xxi. 32; παρατίθεσθαι (32), xiv. 23; xvii. 3; ὑποδεικνύναι (35), ix. 16; ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (35), Luke i. 54. Several Pauline expressions adduced by Lekebusch[3] prove nothing on the other side,

[1] Die Apostelgeschichte, zweiten Theiles zweite Abtheilung, p. 103.

[2] Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht, p. 269, *et seq.*

[3] δουλεύειν τῷ Κυρίῳ, Θεῷ, or Χριστῷ Acts xx. 19, six times in Paul, only in Matt. vi. 24, Luke xvi. 13 besides; ταπεινοφροσύνη xx. 19, five times in Paul, only in 1 Peter v. 5 besides; ὑποστέλλω xx. 20, Gal. ii. 12; τὸ συμφέρον xx. 20, three times in 1 Cor., only in Hebr. xii. 20 besides; διακονία xx. 24, twenty-two times in Paul; μαρτύρομαι Acts xx. 26, Gal. v. 3, Ephes. iv. 17; καθαρὸς ἐγώ xx. 26, Acts xviii. 6; φείδομαι xx. 29, seven times in Paul, only in 2 Peter ii. 4, 5 besides; νουθετεῖν xx. 31, seven times in Paul; ἐποικοδομεῖν xx. 32, six times in Paul, only in Jude 20 besides; κοπιᾶν, active, xx.

because the writer of the Acts was a Pauline Christian. There are indications in the address of its not being entirely fictitious, such as, *the elders* of the Ephesian church being identified with *the bishops*, and the mention of his labouring with his own hands, which appears in 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 7–9; 1 Cor. iv. 12; ix. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9. The writer must have had written notes or a traditional sketch of the speech, which he freely reproduced.

The discourses of Paul in chapters xxii. and xxvi. narrate the circumstances attending his conversion and apostolic call to the Gentiles, and are substantially the same as the prior account in the 9th chapter. The three coincide in language and style, showing that they proceed from the same writer. All exhibit unhistorical elements, especially the first. The second agrees with the first in making Paul go to Jerusalem to the apostles immediately after his conversion, contrary to the epistle to the Galatians. The second states that the apostle had a vision of Christ in the temple; and the third agrees with the first, in stating that he preached in Jerusalem and Judea, soon after his embracing Christianity. Besides, xxii. 20 alludes to vii. 58; viii. 1; and the words which Jesus addresses to Ananias in a vision, in the 9th chapter, are spoken to the apostle himself in a vision (xxii. 21). The expression too in xxii. 16, 'be baptized, and wash away thy sins,' &c., is inappropriate in the mouth of Ananias at that time.

That the discourses of the book bear the impress of the writer appears still farther from Stephen's address, whose citations of Scripture are often inaccurate.

The departure of Abraham, after his father's death, from Haran, is irreconcilable with the dates in Genesis.

35, thirteen times in Paul; the hortative γρηγορεῖτε xx. 31, 1 Cor. xvi. 13; these may show nothing more than a writer familiar with the Pauline diction, such as the author of the Acts undoubtedly was.—*Die Composition und Enstehung der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 338, 339.

Abraham quitted Haran when he was 75, i.e. when his father was 145; yet his father lived to be 205.

The narrative of Abraham's purchase in Gen. xxiii. disagrees with the statement that he did not possess a foot of the promised land (vii. 5).

The number of Jacob's family which went down to Egypt is said to be 75 (vii. 14), whereas in Genesis it is 70.

All the sons of Jacob are said to have been buried in Palestine (vii. 16), which does not harmonise with Genesis.

Jacob is said to have been buried in Sychem; whereas, according to Genesis, his body was laid in the cave of Machpelah by Hebron.

Abraham bought a field of the sons of Hamor (vii. 16); whereas Jacob bought it (Gen. xxxiii. 19). Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah.

It is stated that Moses was mighty *in words* (vii. 22), which is at variance with Exod. iv. 10.

Instead of Babylon (vii. 43), Amos has Damascus.

Thus the divergences from the Old Testament are numerous. In some of them Stephen probably followed current Jewish traditions; hardly in all. A man of his knowledge and faith could scarcely have made so many historical mistakes; but they might have been owing to the incomplete materials which the writer possessed—materials derived from one who lived near enough the time of the events to furnish a faithful outline of the argument followed by Stephen.

We do not affirm that the speeches to which we have been referring are entirely suppositious in their contents and style. It is enough to maintain, that they evince the hand of him that wrote the whole book. The general writer had at least a share in their production; so that their authenticity can only be held in a qualified sense. The speakers did not utter them as they now are. None are faithful versions of the Aramaean originals in which

it is supposed some were spoken. The speakers themselves did not furnish a faithful copy, neither were they taken down correctly. Criticism disproves the idea that they were really in substance, and mostly in the very words, uttered as written. The unhistorical element is too apparent to warrant more than partial authenticity. Contents, order, and language evince the writer as well as the speaker.

We are reminded however, that the discourses of Peter resemble one another, having so much internal likeness as to show their common origin in the same person. Not only their ideas, but even their phrases and modes of expression, it is said, are similar, and analogous to the recognised peculiarities of Peter in his first epistle. The following are given: ἐλάλησε ὁ Θεὸς or προφήτης, ii. 31; iii. 21, 24; but this is in Luke i. 55; μετανοήσατε καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε iii. 19; but the same combination appears in xxvi. 20; διὰ στόματος τῶν προφητῶν iii. 18, 21; but this occurs in Luke i. 70; and in iv. 25 a similar expression employed by the writer has its parallel in Peter's address i. 16; νῦν οἶδα ὅτι iii. 17; with ἀληθῶς after οἶδα xii. 11. The fact that the two last differ in expression; and the use of οἶδα ὅτι in Paul's speeches in the Acts as also in the gospel, neutralise this. Jesus was delivered up τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ ii. 23; comp. iv. 28; x. 42. The same idea is in Luke xxii. 22 expressed by the same verb in the participle. Jesus is called *the servant of God*, παῖς Θεοῦ, iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30. The idea that while the Jews believed they had destroyed Jesus they had been instrumental in exalting him to glory, recurs in Peter's addresses, ii. 23, &c.; iii. 13, &c.; v. 30; x. 39. Compare with the passages that express the idea of Jesus suffering by the determinate counsel of God, 1 Peter i. 2, 20; ii. 4, 6. The antithesis between the purpose of the Jews to annihilate the Redeemer and his glorious resurrection occurs in 1 Peter i. 19, &c. But the same idea is in

xiii. 27, &c. Psalm cxviii. 22 is quoted only in Acts iv. 11 and 1 Peter ii. 7, where it is applied to Christ. Such are the strongest coincidences in Peter's speeches adduced by Ebrard;[1] and even they are not all valid, as we have pointed out. It cannot be denied that the Petrine discourses differ perceptibly from the Pauline, in ideas and phraseology. The Messiahship of Jesus, his rejection by the Jewish rulers, the fact of his resurrection attesting his claim to be the Messiah, the necessity of repentance and conversion, are the leading thoughts he expresses in a more Hebraistic form than that of Paul. But is there any proof of their proper authenticity in all this? Surely the general verisimilitude is accounted for by the fact that the same person is made to speak similarly in similar circumstances. All are fashioned after one model. If the first address of Peter, on the choice of a new apostle, be confessedly supposititious, why should the rest be differently judged? especially as they make him express freer anti-judaic sentiments than he appears to have had till the ministry of Paul bore fruit.

So with respect to Paul's discourses, we are reminded that the same ideas are repeated in them; that similar words and phrases, constructions and modes of connecting propositions and sentences, recur. This is natural. That the apostle should express himself after the same manner on different occasions was to be expected. But the similarity in question is as favourable to the assumption that the author of the Acts put the ideas and words into his mouth, as it is to the authentic literality of the speeches. It is even more so, unless it appear that the phraseology of Paul is distinctively separated from the writer's; which it is not. The likeness of style and linguistic peculiarities between the discourses of the apostle and the narratives of Luke is greater than that

[1] Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte, p. 889, *et seq.*

between the discourses and the Pauline epistles. Thus in the apostle's apology before the Jews xxii. 1–32, not a single expression peculiarly Pauline occurs. The whole is in Luke's manner, so much so that various words employed by the evangelist alone are found here, as *συνεῖναι*, *αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*, *εὐλαβής*, &c. So too, the discourse before Felix, xxiv. 10–21, is impregnated with Luke's manner, the words *ἀγνίζεσθαι*, *ἑστώς*, &c. clearly pointing to his pen. The defence before Agrippa is confidently appealed to, to show its verbal authenticity, because it is said to be full of Paul's peculiar expressions, as *ἤγημαι*, *διό*, *προγιγνώσκοντες*, *θρησκεία*, *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*, *κ.τ.λ.*, *νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν*, *καταντῆσαι*, *κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν*, *ἔδοξά*, *ἐναντία*, *τῶν ἁγίων*, *τιμωρῶν*, *τὰς ἔξω πόλεις*, *ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα*, *κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις*, *μετανοεῖν* abs., *ἐκτός*, *πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως*, *σωφροσύνη*, *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, *ὁποῖος*, *παρεκτός*. But this list needs sifting. *διό* is a genuine expression of Luke's, since it occurs twice in his gospel and ten times in the Acts. The verb *προγινώσκειν* is found but twice in the epistle to the Romans, and is not peculiarly Pauline any more than Petrine. *θρησκεία* occurs but once in the epistle to the Colossians, so that it is not Pauline. On the contrary, it is found twice in the epistle of James. *νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν* is found in the Acts elsewhere, as also in Luke's gospel, but not in Paul's writings. *καταντῆσαι* with *εἰς* belongs much more to Luke than Paul, for it occurs eight or nine times in the Acts, and only four times in the epistles to the Corinthians, Philippians, and Ephesians. *κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν* never occurs in Paul. *ἔδοξα* is unknown to Paul. *ἐναντία* is not characteristic of the apostle any more than of Luke. *τιμωρεῖν* is only found in Acts xxii. 5 besides, and cannot be pronounced Pauline. *ὑπέρ* followed by the accusative is found twice in Luke's gospel. *κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις* never occurs in Paul; but there is a similar expression once in the Colossian epistle. *μετανοεῖν* abs. is found both in the

third gospel and Acts," but never in Paul. πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως is not found in Paul. The idea is otherwise expressed. σωφροσύνη occurs twice in the first epistle to Timothy but not in Paul's authentic epistles. ἐν ὀλίγῳ is not Pauline; it occurs but once in Ephesians and then in a different sense. The apostle uses ὁποῖος but twice. Hence it is not one of his characteristic words. παρεκτός is never used by him as a preposition. He employs it once only as an adverb. After these remarks the reader will judge of the truth of such statements as the speech 'is full of Paul's manner.' On the contrary, it shows the hand of Luke throughout, as in ἐν φυλακαῖς κατέκλεισα, ἀναιρουμένων, περιλάμψαν, καταπεσόντων, συλλαβόμενοι, διαχειρίσασθαι, ἀποφθέγγομαι.

That the speeches were not uttered as they are written, either in substance or in words, may be inferred from the fact that they exhibit a recurrence of the same ideas and turns of expression, as in ii. 25, &c. comp. xiii. 34: ii. 39, iii. 25, &c. comp. xiii. 26: iii. 18, comp. xiii. 27: iii. 17, &c. comp. xvii. 30: v. 20, comp. xiii. 26: x. 40, comp. xvii. 31: i. 8, 22; ii. 32; iii. 15; v. 32; x. 39, 41, comp. xiii. 31: i. 10, 16, ii. 14, 22, iii. 12, v. 35, vii. 2, xiii. 16, 26, xvii. 22, xxii. 1. Besides, the Old Testament is everywhere quoted from the Septuagint and applied in the same method—a method contrary to the proper historical interpretation. Even when that translation is opposed to the original it is followed, as in xv. 16, 17, where James uses the version to show that Amos prophesied of the conversion of the Gentiles; whereas the prophet speaks of the Jews conquering the remnant of Edom and incorporating them with themselves, as fellow-worshippers in the Messianic age. We are reminded however by Trip, that a thorough comparison of the discourses scattered throughout the Acts, with the Pauline epistles cannot be instituted, because they were addressed to different persons. Paul wrote to Christians, Gentile and Jewish, who had been already

instructed; he spoke to Jews or Gentiles, or both, who had no previous knowledge of the new religion. The only exception to this is the address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus. It is also alleged for the purpose of neutralising any effects of comparison unfavourable to the authenticity of the discourses in the Acts, that writing and speaking are different things. Agreeing in the same object, their method of reaching it cannot be the same. And thirdly, it should not be forgotten, that the epistles were either written or dictated by Paul himself, so that their contents are perspicuously arranged and often developed at length; while the discourses in the Acts were written down by another, who, with all his care, could not reproduce them as accurately or perfectly as they were spoken. None of these considerations, nor all three together, prevents a fair inference from the comparison in question. The fact that the address at Miletus to the Ephesians is of the same character as the rest, shows that the nature of the audience does not change the topics insisted on. Besides, in addressing Jews at Antioch, we meet with the only passage in which the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith appears, and even there in an imperfect manner (Acts xiii. 38, 39). Had this passage been in the speech to the elders of Ephesus, the difference of persons might have been supposed of importance in varying the nature of Paul's preaching; as it is not, we infer that the leading doctrines on which the apostle insisted were always similar. His mind was so strongly penetrated with a few central ideas to which he attached paramount importance, that he could scarcely have refrained from their inculcation. In this view, they were of like moment to Jew and Gentile. As to speaking and writing, they affect the manner, not the substance, of doctrine; and the latter is the point in debate. The same applies to their being written by Paul himself or another. If that other did not only put them into different language and

shape but altered their character; he would be giving forth his own ideas, not those of him whom he professed to report. Besides, there is more perspicuous order and skilful arrangement in the discourses of the Acts than in the Pauline epistles. Artistic form and gradual development appear in them conspicuously. None of the circumstances alleged by apologists avail to counterbalance the different type of teaching presented by Paul the speaker and Paul the letter-writer.

That the speeches were largely composed by the writer of the Acts, is also apparent from their containing unhistorical and unsuitable particulars. How could Peter declare it *unlawful* for a Jew to keep company with and come in to one of another nation (x. 28)? Suppose it were so in the case of idolaters, how could it be the same with relation to persons called *devout*, like Cornelius? Even the stricter Jews could hardly have avoided intercourse with the latter, else they would have made no efforts for their conversion. There is little doubt that Cornelius was a heathen; and though eating with heathens was against the Mosaic law, other intercourse with them was allowed. It is improbable that any prohibition existed against such association with an uncircumcised heathen like Cornelius; and Peter could not have used the language attributed to him. In like manner, the statement of Gamaliel about Theudas is inaccurate, and does not proceed from the speaker (v. 36). The insurrectionist of that name appeared in the reign of Claudius, about ten years after the delivery of the speech; as we learn from Josephus, whose description agrees exactly, sometimes even verbally, with the notice of Theudas in the Acts, so that no other could have been meant. The anachronism belongs to the writer of the book, not to Gamaliel.

It is probable that the speeches should not be considered the free composition of the writer altogether. As he used sources oral and written, he derived his

information from others. But the nature of them almost necessitates the conclusion that they received part of their substance, and most of their form from the narrator. Eichhorn's opinion is right to some extent, though certainly overstrained. The same remark applies to Baur, and even to Zeller.

4. The character of the discourses leads us to infer that the narratives with which they are connected are partly unhistorical; a conclusion justified by every impartial examination. Besides several contradictions into which the writer falls, such as, that Paul's companions on his way to Damascus 'heard the voice of Christ,' (Acts ix. 7), and also did *not* hear it (Acts xxii. 9), words that cannot be explained, 'they did not understand the voice;' the accounts are interspersed with much that is incredible. We have seen that the description of the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit cannot be sustained, in its natural sense, and is even unsupported by Peter, who takes Paul's view of the tongues, when he refers the hearers to the time of the day in proof that the assembled Christians were not intoxicated; instead of appealing to new languages, which the strangers would have known.

The description of the primitive believers at Jerusalem is partly ideal. The writer states that they had a community of goods. 'All that believed had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need.' A small part of the people only could have done so. The author gives an enthusiastic view of these early Christians, some of whom may probably have acted as is described, under the influence of fanatical notions about the immediate establishment of the divine kingdom on earth.

As to the death of Ananias and Sapphira, it is evidently set forth as the miraculous, instantaneous effect of Peter's words. This, with the harshness of the di-

vinely inflicted punishment, which is out of character with the gospel history, prevents the critic from accepting the fact as historical, at least in the way it is told. The nucleus of it may be so.

The healing of the lame man at the gate of the temple, effected by the wonder-working word of Peter in a moment, and without any condition of faith in the subject of the cure, must be classed with miracles in general. To the many supernatural phenomena appearing in the book, the interpreter must apply whatever solution his reason suggests. If he believe that the ordinary laws of nature established by God may be superseded, interfered with, altered at times by the will of Him who ordained them; or if he refer such cases to the operation of unseen but higher laws than those working around and within us, he will find no insuperable difficulty in accepting the statements of them as credible. If he hold that the Supreme Being knew the efficiency of the laws which He established at first, that He foresaw all the effects to which they were adequate, and instituted them for the production of such effects, he will resolve the descriptions of them into the mythical growth of after times. The book of the Acts is thickly studded with the miraculous. It even states that sick persons were brought forth into the streets and laid on couches, believing that they might be cured by the shadow of Peter as he passed; and a parallel instance is related of Paul, that handkerchiefs or aprons which had touched his body received from it a magical power to heal diseases and expel demons. Such extravagances of the miraculous may lead a reader to reject it, not only on the occasions mentioned, but on others.

The account of the apostles being supernaturally delivered, brought forth from prison, and commanded to speak boldly in the temple, is suspicious (v.). The liberated are imprisoned again, so that the miracle is so far frustrated. Nor is there the least allusion to

the supernatural event, by the Sanhedrim. The Jewish rulers do not inquire into its truth.

As to the speech of Gamaliel, we have already seen an error in it which such a person would hardly commit; and therefore the whole of what he said may be fictitious. He belonged undoubtedly to the Pharisees; the party which had condemned Jesus to death not long before. Did the Pharisees now become the protectors of the early Christians? Were their antipathies changed so soon after the crucifixion of Jesus? This is improbable. And it is equally so that the Sadducees had taken their place as the persecutors of the Christians (iv. 1, 2). It is even said that the high priest Annas was at the head of the Sadducean party (v. 17), which we know to be incorrect, both from his appearance when Christ was accused before him, and from Josephus. Neither Annas nor Caiaphas was a Sadducee. Thus we are led to regard the whole narrative respecting the favour shown by Gamaliel to the apostles as unhistorical. He was a believer in the resurrection, while the Sadducees were not; and as the resurrection of Jesus is the central point of the apostle's doctrine, the orthodox Jews are on the side of the Christians, while the heterodox persecute them. Thus the writer had an object in making Annas a Sadducee, and Gamaliel the Pharisee a friend of the persecuted.

The 6th chapter containing an account of the election of deacons and of Stephen is historical. In the account of the first martyr there are indeed various legendary elements, while his speech is in part the free composition of the writer; but there is no doubt he was accused and put to death by the Jews. His murder seems to have been violent and illegal. The narrative serves as an introduction to that of Paul, whose conversion took place in the succession of events following Stephen's death.

The general persecution arising upon the death of

Stephen can hardly have driven away *all* the Christians from Jerusalem except the apostles, as stated in viii. 1. A storm bursting upon the disciples would fall first and most severely upon their leaders. Schleiermacher is therefore correct in supposing that the phrase, 'except the apostles,' is unhistorical, being inserted for the sake of the history of Philip; and Baumgarten's attempted explanation is far-fetched. Lekebusch himself admits that the language is hyperbolical, but asks why they should have fled with the rest; to which we answer, because of their Master's advice: 'When they persecute you in this city flee ye into another.' Not long after, disciples were at Jerusalem (ix. 26), all of whom could not have been new members. Probably Hellenistic Jews only who had attached themselves to Stephen were obliged to flee from the metropolis (xi. 19, 20).

The spread of Christianity in Samaria by Philip, and his baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch appear to be historical. But the narrative contains mythical and improbable elements, such as the mission of Peter and John to Samaria to impart the Holy Ghost to the converts there. The belief that none but an apostle had this magic power lies at the basis of the statement. The narrative respecting Simon the sorcerer magnifies Peter, and is full of incongruous particulars; though we cannot, with some, hold the sorcerer to be an imaginary person.

The conversion of Saul is a historical fact, and the description of it in the 9th chapter substantially true. That it is not correct in all particulars may be inferred from the variations in the parallel narratives (xxii. xxvi.). According to the 9th chapter, Paul fell to the earth and heard a voice addressing him, while his companions stood speechless; but in xxvi. 14, both he and they are said to have fallen to the ground. Again, in ix. 7 it is stated that they *heard* the voice but *saw* no one; whereas in xxii. 9 they *saw* the light but did *not*

hear the voice. Still farther, some of the words spoken by Jesus to Paul in xxvi. 16–18 are in ix. 15 addressed to Ananias; and in xxii. 15, 21 they are partly spoken by Ananias, partly by Jesus appearing to the apostle a second time. The statement (in xxvi. 14, 15, &c.) of the words spoken by Jesus disagrees with that given both in the 9th and the 22nd chapters, which is shorter. These minor differences which do not admit of reconcilement, awaken suspicion against the perfect credibility of the narrative. The reader, far from seeing in them a convincing proof of its simple truth as if inaccuracy in reporting details certified accuracy in the main points, will infer an interval of time between the historian and the events he records. It is best to conceive of the whole process of Paul's conversion as an inward operation; a spiritual revelation of Christ to the higher self-consciousness. Former experiences in his own mind, and the death of Stephen, had probably prepared him for such internal revelation of the Redeemer. The phenomena were subjective, not objective. The apostle's higher self-consciousness found partial expression for itself in external circumstances. In any case he believed the fact that he had seen Christ; and though psychology cannot account for the revolution that took place within him, it is as unnecessary as it is unphilosophical to assume that all the phenomena described as external were really so. His soul was ultimately determined to a new career by some unusual spiritual influence, which may be termed 'a revelation of the glorified Jesus speaking to him.' It is not said that he saw the glorified person of Jesus; he saw the splendour or shekinah surrounding him. The narratives imply that Christ was veiled or screened by the bright light, while present in and encompassed by it; but they do not state exactly that his person was visible. Speaking generally, however, Paul's seeing the splendour is identified with seeing Jesus himself, since

Ananias uses the words, 'that thou *shouldest see* that Just One' (xxii. 14); and Barnabas told the disciples at Jerusalem that Paul '*had seen* the Lord' (ix. 27). His own statement also is, that 'he had seen Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8), referring to the occasion of his conversion. If Paul could not always distinguish whether he was in a state of ecstasy or not, as he says in 2 Cor. xii. 2, it is quite possible he may not have distinguished the vivid intuitions of his inner consciousness from their outward and sensuous representations. Persons of certain temperaments are predisposed to visions. Bodies of feeble and highly nervous organisation, in which strong spirits are lodged, or those subject to maladies of the epileptic kind, are apt to be overpowered by their impassioned souls, which have vivid perceptions of the invisible; and spiritual consciousness snatching sensations, bodies itself forth in them with a commingling of both.

Parallels to the vision of Paul are not wanting. In the life of Loyola we are informed, that the blessed Virgin appeared to him one night, holding little Jesus in her arms. The apparition lasted a considerable time, and during it, it seemed to him that his heart was purified within him.[1] One day there was represented to him the mystery of the Holy Trinity; 'a vision that sensibly affected him.'

In Doddridge's 'Life of Colonel Gardiner' it is related, that one night an unusual blaze of light fell on the book the colonel was reading; and lifting up his eyes he apprehended there was before him, as it were, suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ on the cross, surrounded with a glory, and he was impressed as if a voice had addressed certain words to him. He was not certain whether it was before his

[1] Life of St. Ignatius Loyola by Bouhours, translated into English, pp. 14, 15. London, 1686.

bodily eyes or in the mind, but was certain of its being a vision.

Was this revelation of the glorified Jesus to Paul self-illusion? Not in the ordinary meaning of the word. In a high sense of it it may be called so—but in a sense exemplified by some of the noble spirits which have exercised a lasting influence on mankind; a sense where it is hard to say whether self-illusion or intense conviction of spiritual reality be not transmuted into a single passion that rules the man henceforward. An elevated self-consciousness of the divine asserting itself strongly, has as much reality as the perceptions of the senses, and is even more directly attributable to God. The inward fact is, in any case, the chief thing; the external accompaniments are of less consequence. The truth of Christianity does not depend on external evidences, but on a moral and subjective basis. The mental process of the apostle was so real that it has affected the world's conception of Christianity. As to the blindness of Paul, and the manner of its removal, it is mythical or symbolic. It is impossible to take the whole narration as a literal record of what took place, without violating the principles of interpretation which philosophy commends.

Peter's baptism of Cornelius, according to which that apostle is the first to introduce the Gentiles to the privileges of Christianity, presents something unhistorical. We have already seen how he utters Pauline sentiments, more liberal in their tendency than his character would warrant. Here he plays a distinguished part in relation to the heathen. As an introduction to his intercourse with Cornelius, he performs two miracles—the cure of Eneas at Lydda, and the restoration to life of Tabitha at Joppa. The latter resembles Mark's narration of the raising of Jairus's daughter so closely, that it seems to have been moulded after it. The circumstances are

dramatically told. The weeping widows of the church stand by the dead body when the apostle goes into the upper room, and enhance the deceased's merits by displaying the dresses she had made. The miracle itself, the opening of the eyes and sitting up of the dead, Peter's giving her his hand and lifting her up, his calling the saints and widows and presenting her to them—these and similar traits make the description vivid, but show a reflectiveness and artificiality savouring of an author later than any contemporary. At the same time, the effect of the miracle is not so great as that which followed the cure of Eneas at Lydda; for 'whereas many believed on the Lord' at Joppa, '*all* that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw Eneas and turned to the Lord,' which is evidently hyperbolical. As to the visions and marvels introductory to the baptism of Cornelius, they are numerous enough to awaken suspicion. He saw in a vision an angel coming to him, telling him to send for Peter at Joppa. The next day Peter himself fell into a trance and had a symbolical vision; after this 'the Spirit' told him about the three messengers seeking him. When Peter had spoken to Cornelius and his party, there was an effusion of the Holy Spirit, imparting the gift of speaking in tongues. All these wonders, which seem to have been wrought for the enlightenment of the apostle's mind, not for Cornelius who could have learned the principles of Christianity from Philip in Caesarea, are brought together to inaugurate the baptism of the first heathen. The conduct and sentiments of the apostle disagree with his subsequent conduct at Antioch. All that can be upheld as historical is, that Peter baptized a proselyte of the name of Cornelius, at this early period; not that he baptized a Gentile centurion before the council held at Jerusalem. The simple fact is dressed out with the miraculous element to mark its importance in connection with Peter's person.

The deliverance of this apostle from prison, into

which he had been cast by Herod Agrippa, is circumstantially related. Though he was strictly guarded, yet the very night before his intended execution the angel of the Lord brought him forth, and, after conducting him through one street, disappeared. The iron gate leading to the city opened to them of its own accord. The chains with which he had been bound to two soldiers, fell off his hands as soon as the angel, smiting him on the side, awoke him from sleep, and told him what to do. The circumstances are detailed with graphic effect. How the keepers could have allowed the prisoner to escape from between their hands, is not stated; but we are led to suppose that they were in unconscious sleep. The basis of the story is some unexpected deliverance of the apostle, which was afterwards set forth in a mythic dress. Paul's encounter with Elymas the sorcerer, in Paphos, is similar to Peter's with Simon Magus. The punishment inflicted upon him resembles Paul's own blindness at the time of conversion. It is therefore probable that the occurrence is fictitious.

The cure of a lame man at Lystra is so similar to a cure performed by Peter, that it seems modelled after it. The very language employed by the writer, in both cases, is alike. The effect of the miracle on the people of the place, the worship offered, the sacrifices almost performed to Paul and Barnabas, appear to be as unhistorical as the miracle itself. That the former was stoned, he himself attests in the second epistle to the Corinthians, but without specifying Lystra as the locality.

The visit of Paul to Jerusalem, narrated in the 15th chapter, must be identical with that referred to in the 2nd chapter of the Galatian letter. How different their character and object are, has been already indicated. The position of Paul with respect to the three apostles, Peter, James, and John, is not the same as that asserted in the epistle to the Galatians. There he insists

on his independence; here he stands in a subordinate relation to the heads of the metropolitan church. There he is conscious of a divine revelation constituting him an apostle to the Gentiles; here he consents to be an official delegate of the church at Antioch to the church at Jerusalem, respecting the necessity of circumcision to converts from heathenism. Here a formal assembly, expressing its sentiments in an apostolic decree, appears. Peter and James utter liberal Pauline sentiments, and Paul afterwards circumcises Timothy, agreeably to those decrees. That the great apostle could have assented to the resolutions passed at the meeting without opposition is unlikely, when we see that one of the prohibitions at least, that of abstaining from meats offered to idols, which is here absolute, is conditional in the first epistle to the Corinthians. The apostle recommends abstinence from such food, solely on account of the offence it might occasion to weaker brethren; whereas the decree of the council forbids it absolutely. It is one of the *necessary* things connected with the soul's health. The prohibition of fornication along with things not sinful *per se* but deriving their character from positive law, is also strange. The association of an immoral act with such practices, places it on a level with them. It cannot be intended as an ethical precept of universal obligation, else the mention of it here would be needless. It must therefore be like the rest, a thing arising from complete renunciation of the law of Moses; as likely to result from it as the eating of flesh offered to idols. If such be the light in which the heads of the Jerusalem church exhibited fornication, it would surely have called forth the animadversions of Paul, who could hardly have allowed the principle of freedom from the law, which he preached, to be reproached with that natural consequence. In addition to all other particulars, there is a similarity of construction between the prologue of Luke's gospel, and the epistle sent from Jerusalem, which strengthens

other suspicious circumstances.[1] That the apostle visited Jerusalem, is certain; but the narrative is partly unhistorical, because disagreeing with the statements of the Galatian epistle, and with the well-attested conduct of Paul on other occasions. A formal assembly, speeches, resolutions written and binding, with most of the attendant circumstances—all that is not contained in Gal. ii.—proceed from the writer himself, conformably to the general purport of the book.

The cause of the imprisonment of Paul and Silas at Philippi, and the particulars connected with their deliverance, cannot be historical. How could an earthquake have shaken the fetters off all the prisoners? Could the jailor, seeing the prison doors open, think at once of committing suicide, contrary to conscious innocence? How could Paul know, in the darkness of the inner prison, that the captives were all present? Did none of them think of escaping? Did the jailor know at once that the earthquake occurred for the sake of Paul and Silas? Did he venture to set the two free on his own responsibility? The miracle was uncalled for, because the Roman duumvirs released Paul and Silas in the morning. Indeed the authorities themselves treated them illegally and brutally, since they beat and imprisoned them before trial, though one at least was a Roman citizen. Could not the apostle have prevented such treatment at first, by asserting his rights? Why should the jailor have been charged to keep the prisoners in close confinement? The jailor's conduct throughout, his sudden conversion and baptism, the entreaty of the magistrates that they should depart from the city in the morning, all heighten the story, making the deliverance

[1]

ACTS xv. 24, 25.	LUKE i. 1.
ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐτάραξαν . . .	ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι . . .
ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδόν,	ἔδοξε κἀμοί, παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς,
ἄνδρας πέμψαι.	καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι.

not only more remarkable, but honourable to Paul. The miracle and its accompaniments are unhistorical. There is no need to deny the fact of the imprisonment or the speedy liberation of the apostle by the authorities; the rest is the writer's.

The occurrences at Thessalonica and Berea, are real and credible. At Athens the apostle was taken before the tribunal of the Areopagus, and his speech is given. The nature and course of the speech, its language and purport, have been noticed before. The 18th chapter calls for no particular remark, except that the Nazarite vow, agreeably to which Paul shaved his head at Cenchrea, appears to be imaginary. The 19th chapter, which speaks of the apostle at Ephesus, has several things difficult to understand. Here he met with disciples of John the Baptist, who, though believers in Christ, had not been baptized in the name of Jesus, or heard of the Holy Ghost. Yet Apollos, also a disciple of John, 'taught accurately the things of the Lord,' while he knew nothing of Christian baptism. It is impossible to make out a consistent or definite picture of these persons. They were Christians, for they are termed *disciples*; yet, properly speaking, they were not Christians, as they did not know that the coming One had arrived. Their ignorance of the Holy Spirit is remarkable; even as Jews they must have known his existence. Paul baptized them again. Nothing is said of Apollos's re-baptism. After the apostle laid his hands on them, they spake with tongues and prophesied. Here is the key to the introduction of these John-disciples, who are depicted so anomalously. At the baptism of Cornelius by Peter, the Holy Ghost fell on that convert and the Gentiles present with him, *and they spake with tongues*. In like manner Paul, to show that he was not behind Peter in this apostolic qualification, conferred the gift of tongues on these disciples by the imposition of hands. The encounter with the exorcists and the mighty effects that followed, the burning

of the magical books and their great value, are particulars that may be true; but the way in which they are related and the purpose they are intended to serve, awaken doubts. Ephesus was the seat of a heathen magic, which proceeded from the mystic worship of Artemis. Jewish magic also endeavoured to find an abode there, by connecting itself with the heathen. The wonderful power of the apostle over both must be shown. Hence demons are expelled and mystic books burned. The apostle confirms the word of the gospel by miracles. Articles that touched his body have healing power. Thus there is a marked contrast between Ephesian culture and Christianity; the latter showing its overwhelming power. Heathen and Jewish magic is overpowered by the wonder-working efficacy of the apostle.

A tumult raised by Demetrius having compelled Paul to leave Ephesus, he visits various places, and restores Eutychus to life at Troas. The address at Miletus to the Ephesian elders, has been already referred to; and the account of his journey to Jerusalem presents no doubtful particulars. When he comes to the metropolis, James advises him to conciliate the Jewish believers by taking part in a Nazarite offering in the temple, which he does accordingly. Conduct *for such a purpose* is inconsistent with his well-known principles. If he did engage in the transaction, the motive and object differed from those stated in the text. It may be that he was seized by the Jews in the temple, to which he had gone for some other purpose than the one stated. As to his being allowed by the Roman commander to speak to the multitude from the stairs of the castle, the credibility of the thing is doubtful; and the character of the discourse strengthens the doubt, because the writer of the Acts appears in it as well as Paul.

The speech before the Sanhedrim is said to have been interrupted at its very commencement, by an unwarrantable act of the high priest. The words spoken by

the apostle on this occasion, '*I wist not*, brethren, that he was the high priest,' &c., are very strange from one educated as a Jew, who must have known that none but the high priest presided in the Sanhedrim. All shifts to evade the plain meaning are of no avail, such as, 'I did not consider,' as if he had used a hasty expression and immediately corrected himself; since the verb has not that meaning. It is stated that *he looked steadfastly* at the council; an expression excluding the idea of his not knowing the high priest to all but those who perversely convert it into a steadfast look connected with infirmity of sight, which caused him *not* to distinguish the high priest! The version, 'I wist not that there was a high priest,' which disagrees with the following words, is another evasion of the true sense, less flagrant than that which construes a *steadfast look* into *not seeing*. The conduct attributed to the apostle, by which he availed himself of a device to produce division in the assembly and thereby defeat his enemies, is not what his known character would lead us to expect. *In the circumstances*, it borders on hypocrisy to call himself a Pharisee. The effects too of the stratagem are surprising. The Pharisees suddenly take his side, forgetting the most objectionable part of his belief, the denial of the authority of the law. The very next day, however, after the Pharisees said, 'we find no evil in this man,' the chief priests and elders, the majority of whom were of that party, are privy to a conspiracy against his life, and soon present a formal accusation against him before Felix.

The narratives in the 24th, 25th, and 26th chapters are historical in substance. Various minor particulars have probably been inserted in the 26th chapter by the writer, whose hand is seen throughout.

The description of the voyage and shipwreck of Paul on his way to Rome, is minute and accurate, proceeding from an eye-witness's account. A few notices here and there betray a later hand, those especially that

were evidently intended to set forth the wonder-working power of the apostle, such as xxviii. 3–5, 8, 9. The proceedings at Rome have been already noticed, showing both the Jews and the apostle there in a light that cannot be accepted as real, though consistent with the general purpose of the book.

If the preceding observations be correct, the history in the Acts of the Apostles is but partially authentic. Tested by Paul's own epistles and other portions of the New Testament, it fails to present valid evidence of universal credibility. Even where the means of comparison with authentic statements are wanting, and we have only historical criticism to rely upon, the credibility is often unsupported. There is a basis of fact strong enough to show that the little band of primitive believers at Jerusalem increased with great rapidity; that their faith was at once simple and enthusiastic; and that they were closely united till by persecution the Jews scattered their ranks, diffusing the seed of the word throughout Judea. The prominent figure of Stephen, whose ideas tended to the radical separation of Christianity from Judaism, and his violent death, introduce Paul to the reader. But before he takes his place as the central figure round whom all the history is grouped, Peter's labours are noticed. After this the apostle of the Gentiles is delineated; and though many particulars respecting him cannot be accepted as historical, enough remains to set forth a man who carried the gospel to the Gentiles with a perception of their right to all its privileges; who travelled from country to country, with untiring zeal, to promote the highest interests of humanity; hastening towards Rome, the metropolis of the heathen world, to plant there the imperishable principles for which his life was in continual peril. Anxious to spread Christianity in Europe, he succeeded in founding churches here and there, till he reached the goal, the imperial city then mistress of the

world. The missionary labours of the apostle and his companions are not discredited by historical criticism. It strips off indeed some of the halo encompassing them. It lessens their romance. But in so doing, it detracts nothing from the dignity, the independence, the spiritual intuition and breadth of the apostle; it rather enhances them by making him less of a Jew, less temporising, more occupied with one great idea, the adaptation of Christianity to all men by its inculcation of justifying faith without the deeds of the law.

SOURCES.

There is little doubt that the author drew from sources oral and written. How far he did so cannot be ascertained. Nothing but an approach to the probable can be made in the search. The following phenomena indicate the employment of written sources.

1. The use of the first person plural *we* in xvi. 10–17; xx. 5–15; xxi. 1–18; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16. Zeller also thinks that xix. 21, 22 with xx. 1–3 except the commencing words, are borrowed from an older source, because they show an eye-witness in Macedonia, perhaps at Philippi. The portions in question contain a circumstantiality of detail, a vividness of description, an exact knowledge of localities, an acquaintance with the phrases and habits of seamen, which betray one who was personally present. They have also peculiar constructions and phrases which distinguish them from the other parts of the Acts and the third gospel, along with various new words. But the language does not lose the impress of the evangelist altogether. Not a few expressions show Luke's hand. Various particulars are also so improbable, that they could not have been written by an eye-witness, such as xvi. 16, 17. It must therefore be assumed that the writer of the book touched the portions in question, revising them without much change or addition.

2. The 13th and 14th chapters, forming a complete

section, seem to be derived from a written source. Their commencement and form favour this opinion. The name *Saul* is not placed immediately after Barnabas, as it is at the close of the 12th chapter; but after all the names (xiii. 1, 2), apparently pointing to a different source from that of the preceding chapter. The form of the narrative too is like an epitomised one. There is little uniformity in the account of Paul's sojourn in different cities. But the language is the same as that of the whole book; and other evidences of the general writer's hand are not wanting. Hence the document from which it was taken was freely handled. The discourse of Paul in the synagogue at Antioch (xiii. 16–41) is partly the evangelist's. The chapters have lost much of their form under the plastic hand of the writer.

3. A want of pragmatical connection between the 11th and 12th chapters favours their written origin. Perhaps the particulars respecting the apostle Peter in the latter chapter were taken from a consecutive life of him, not however from the documents called *the Preaching of Peter* and *Acts of Peter*, which were of later origin. The account of Herod Agrippa's death agrees in the main with Josephus's.

4. Chapters iii.–v. form an independent section distinct from the preceding and succeeding contexts, which was probably taken from a written document. They bear, however, the stamp of the general writer, and have therefore been revised with freedom.

5. The 6th and 7th chapters, especially the former, seem to have been taken from a written source. The speech of Stephen shows more of the writer of the Acts.

6. We suppose that all which relates to the church at Jerusalem, except the account of the appointment of deacons, was taken from Jewish-christian sources, for the most part oral. It is observable that Peter himself has the same view of the gift of tongues as Paul, not that given in ii. 1–13.

7. At xix. 16 something seems to have been omitted. The historian has furnished a very meagre extract from the source before him. The second pronoun *them* presupposes the knowledge of other circumstances on his part.

8. Acts xi. 28, and xxi. 10 were taken from independent sources, because Agabus is spoken of in the latter passage as if he had not been introduced before.

But it is impossible to specify the documents which the writer used. On the one hand, he had a diary or diaries of the missionary journeys undertaken by Paul; on the other, he had the epistles of that apostle. Oral traditions were also current, of which he availed himself, derived in the first instance from Paul, James, the church at Jerusalem, Silas, Philip the deacon, and John Mark. Schneckenburger, after Feilmoser, lays too much stress on xxi. 9, in order to show Luke's connection with Philip's family;[1] and Credner's view, that he got the greater part of the information contained in the first twelve chapters from John Mark, is improbable.[2] Whatever the sources were, the writer did not hesitate to use them freely, changing, abridging, adding, adapting, and shaping them to suit the leading purpose he had in view. In its present form the book is neither fragments nor extracts from documents, nor even the faithful representation of earlier traditions, nor both together; but a composition partly compiled and partly original, bearing throughout definite marks of one person in matter and language. The author wrote independently, untrammelled by the fetters of tradition.

AUTHORSHIP.

Under this head we shall show that the book proceeded from one man, without being a collection of frag-

[1] Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte, p. 121.
[2] Einleitung in das neue Testament, p. 281.

ments or pieces loosely joined; that it was written by the author of the third gospel; and that his name cannot be identified with any of those who accompanied Paul.

1. The following terms and expressions, which occur in all parts of the book, are peculiar to the author: ἀγόραιος and ἀγοραῖος xvii. 5, xix. 38; ἀκατάκριτος xvi. 37, xxii. 25; ἀναντίρρητος xix. 36; ἀναντιρρήτως x. 29; ἀποφθέγγεσθαι ii. 4, 14, xxvi. 25; ἀσμένως ii. 14, xxi. 17; ἄφνω ii. 2, xvi. 26, xxviii. 6; βία v. 26, xxi. 35, xxiv. 7, xxvii. 41; δῆμος xii. 22, xvii. 5, xix. 30, 33; δημόσιος v. 18; δημοσία xvi. 37, xviii. 28, xx. 20; διάλεκτος i. 19, ii. 6, 8, xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14; διαπρίειν v. 33, vii. 54; διασπείρειν viii. 1, 4, xi. 19; διαπονεῖσθαι iv. 2, xvi. 18; διαφθορά ii. 27, 31, xiii. 34, 35, 36, 37; διαχειρίζεσθαι v. 30, xxvi. 21; ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι xiii. 41, xv. 3; ἐκψύχειν v. 5, 10, xii. 23; ἐπιβουλή ix. 24, xx. 3, 19, xxiii. 30; ἐνέδρα xxiii. 16, xxv. 3; ἐπιδημεῖν ii. 10, xvii. 21; τῇ ἐπιούσῃ with or without a substance, vii. 26, xvi. 11, xx. 15, xxi. 18, xxiii. 11; εὐφροσύνη ii. 28, xiv. 17; ζήτημα xv. 2, xviii. 15, xxiii. 29, xxv. 19, xxvi. 3; καρδιογνώστης i. 24, xv. 8; κατασείειν τῇ χειρί or τὴν χεῖρα xii. 17, xiii. 16, xix. 33, xxi. 40; μεταπέμπεσθαι x. 5, 22, 29, xi. 13, xx. 1, xxiv. 24, 26, xxv. 3; μηδαμῶς x. 14, xi. 8; νεανίας, vii. 58, xx. 9, xxiii. 17, 18, 22; περιαστράπτειν ix. 3, xxii. 6; πλοῦς xxi. 7, xxvii. 9, 10; πνοή ii. 2, xvii. 25; προορᾶν ii. 25, xxi. 29; προχειρίζεσθαι iii. 20, xxii. 14, xxvi. 16; στερεοῦν iii. 7, 16, xvi. 5; συγχέειν, συγχύνειν ii. 6, ix. 22, xix. 32, xxi. 27, 31; σύγχυσις xix. 29; συζήτησις xv. 2, 7, xxviii. 29; τεσσαρακονταετής vii. 23, xiii. 18; ὑπηρετεῖν xiii. 36, xx. 34, xxiv. 23; χειραγωγεῖν ix. 8, xxii. 11; χειραγωγός xiii. 11; ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἰσραηλῖται i. 11, ii. 14, 22, iii. 12, v. 35, xiii. 16, xxi. 28; ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι xvii. 21, 22; ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι xix. 35; ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ii. 29; xiii. 15, 26; xv. 7, 13; xxii. 1; xxiii. 1, 6; xxviii. 17.

2. There are words and phrases characteristic of

the writer because they occur so seldom elsewhere, or are so often repeated as to show they are favourites. ἀπειλή three times, only once in Ephesians besides; ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν; αἵρεσις *sect*, only three times in all other parts of the New Testament, besides the Acts; ἄξιος; ἅπας fourteen times, third gospel nineteen times, only nine times in the other books; ἀσφαλής, ἀσφαλῶς, ἀσφαλίζειν, ἀσφάλεια; βουλή; γένος; γνωστός; ἔκστασις and ἐξίστασθαι; ἔμφοβος and ἔντρομος; ἐπαγγελία a Pauline word; ἐργασία; εὐσχήμων; ἱκανός *much* or *many*, eighteen times in the Acts, sixteen times in the third gospel, only thrice elsewhere; καιροί; μέρη; κλῆος; οἰκουμένη; οἶκος *family*; ὅραμα eleven times in the Acts, once in Matthew; σωτήρ, σωτηρία, σωτήριον, χάρις, Pauline words.

Of verbs we may adduce, ἄλλεσθαι, ἀνάγειν, ἀναιρεῖν, ἀνακρίνειν, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἀναστρέφειν intransitive; ἀνατρέφειν, ἀνιστάναι transitive, ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, ἀπωθεῖσθαι, ἀτενίζειν, αὐξάνειν, ἀφιστάναι, βοᾶν, δεῖ, διαλέγεσθαι, διανοίγειν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, διατρίβειν, διέρχεσθαι, διελθεῖν ἕως, δοκεῖν, εἰσάγειν, εἰσιέναι, ἐκτίθεσθαι, ἐξαιρεῖν, ἐξαποστέλλειν, ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἐξάγειν, ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, ἐπιπίπτειν, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, ἐφιστάναι, ἔχειν *to be*, κακοῦν, καταγγέλλειν, κατάγειν, καταλαμβάνεσθαι middle, κατανοεῖν, κατέρχεσθαι, κελεύειν, λατρεύειν, μαρτυρεῖσθαι *to be well reported of*, μεγαλύνειν, μένειν *to dwell*, μετακαλεῖσθαι, μεταπέμπεσθαι, μεταλαμβάνειν, νομίζειν, ὁρίζειν, παραγγέλλειν, παραγίνεσθαι, παύεσθαι, προσέχειν, προχειρίζεσθαι, πείθειν and πείθεσθαι, σέβεσθαι, στερεοῦν, συγκαλεῖν, συμβάλλειν, συμπαραλαμβάνειν, συναρπάζειν, σύρειν, ὑπάρχειν, ὑποστρέφειν. Verbs compounded with prepositions are often chosen, especially such as have ἀνά and διά.

3. With respect to adverbs, prepositions, and particles, the following are characteristic: adverbs derived from πᾶς, as παντοχοῦ, πάντη, πάντως, διαπαντός; ἑξῆς and

καθεξῆς, κακεῖ and κακεῖθεν, ἐνθάδε, ἄχρι especially in the phrase ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας, or ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης; adverbs expressing suddenness, as ἄφνω, ἐξαυτῆς, ἐξαίφνης, παραχρῆμα; the prepositions σὺν and ἐνώπιον, καθότι and καθώς, ὁμοθυμαδόν, τανῦν, μὲν οὖν and μὲν γάρ, μὲν not followed by δέ, as it should be by rule; τε, which occurs no less than 140 times at least in the Acts, whereas in all other parts of the New Testament it is found but fifty-three times; ἐν τάχει, ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ἐν μέσῳ, ἐπ' ἀληθείας, ὃν τρόπον, κατὰ πρόσωπον.

4. Peculiar forms of words, combinations, constructions, and phraseology pervade the work, which are also found for the most part in the third gospel.

Ἱερουσαλὴμ oftener than Ἱεροσόλυμα, common to the Acts and gospel.

ἑστὼς the perfect participle in both.

The future infinitive ἔσεσθαι always with μέλλειν.

The neuter of a participle with the article, for a substantive, as τὸ εἰωθός, τὸ γεγονός, τὸ συμβεβηκός, τὸ ὡρισμένον, τὸ γεννώμενον, τὸ διατεταγμένον, τὰ κατεστραμμένα, τὰ κεκριμένα.

εἷς ἕκαστος in the Acts and gospel.

The periphrasis τὰ περί τινος and οἱ περί τινα in both.

The interrogative τίς ἄν in both.

The relative is very frequently attracted by the antecedent, both in the Acts and gospel.

The relative ὅ has a clause or sentence for antecedent.

Interrogative clauses are introduced by τὸ in both.

The frequent use of the article before an infinitive, especially the genitive τοῦ, in both.

To a verb is appended a participle, the latter followed by another participle without καὶ between, Acts xii. 4; gospel iv. 20.

δὲ καὶ nine times in the Acts; twenty-nine times in the gospel.

καὶ αὐτὸς or αὐτοὶ very frequent in both.

αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ in both.

ἐπὶ or κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ in both.

The plural of a verb often agrees with a singular noun in sense, such as πλῆθος, in both.

Paraphrastic expressions with πρόσωπον, χεὶρ and ἡμέρα often occur.

εἰπεῖν and λαλεῖν are usually construed with πρὸς in both. The same applies to φάναι in the Acts.

παρὰ τοὺς πόδας in both. Always πρὸς τοὺς πόδας elsewhere, except in Matt. xv. 30.

ἄνδρες is often put before another substantive in direct address.

A name is introduced by ὀνόματι in both. Sometimes καλούμενος is added, or ἐπικαλούμενος, ἐπικληθείς, ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη.

γῆ is often put before proper names of countries.

αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων instead of ἄζυμα.

The inhabitants of a country or city are described by οἱ κατὰ τήν, &c.

αἴτιον instead of αἰτία in both.

ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας *to attack*, in both.

ἡ ὁδὸς *Christianity*, four times in the Acts.

ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπί in both.

κρεμᾶν ἐπὶ ξύλου, applied to the death of Christ.

Expressions with καρδία are frequent, as θέσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις, διατηρεῖν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, &c.

A similar verb and noun are put together, as ἀπειλῇ ἀπειλεῖσθαι, παραγγελίᾳ παραγγέλλειν, βάπτισμα βαπτίζειν, in both.

ἦν or ἦσαν with the participle are used for a finite verb very frequently, in both.

θεὶς τὰ γόνατα in both.

πορεύεσθαι is used to make the language more graphic, fifty times in the gospel, and thirty-eight times in the Acts.

αἴρειν φωνὴν and ἐπαίρειν τὴν φωνήν, in both.

φόβος ἐγένετο in both.

φόβος ἐπέπεσε in both.

ἐγένετο δὲ always followed in the Acts by an infinitive, except in v. 7 where a finite verb with καὶ succeeds. The latter construction is more usual in the gospel.

ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ in both.

Expressions denoting fulness are frequent as πλῆθος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, πολὺ πλῆθος, πλήρης, πληροῦν, πληθύνειν, πλησθῆναι, in both.

To describe feelings or qualities μέγας is often put with the noun, as φόβος μέγας, &c.

ἐπιπίπτειν applied to the sudden influence of the Spirit.

λαμβάνειν τὸ πνεῦμα.

πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου in both.

The optative mood, generally rare in the New Testament, occurs nine times in both works.

5. Subsequent parts refer to and imply what has been already said.

'John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost' (xi. 16). This refers to i. 5: 'John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.'

'Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch,' &c. (xi. 19). This is linked to viii. 1: 'And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria,' &c.

'And Saul *yet* breathing out threatenings and slaughter,' &c. (ix. 1), referring to viii. 3, 'as for Saul, he made havoc of the church,' &c.

'Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus for to seek Saul' (xi. 25), referring to ix. 30, where it is said that Paul was sent to Tarsus.

'Now there were in the church that was at Antioch,'

&c. &c. (xiii. 1). Only from xi. 19–26, is it known that there was a church there previously.

'God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us' (xv. 8); referring to x. 47, 'that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we.'

Chapter xv. 36 presupposes the 13th chapter.

'Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work' (xv. 38), is unintelligible without xiii. 13: 'Paul and his company came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem.'

'And as they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem' (xvi. 4), presupposing xv. 28, 29.

'And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit,' &c. (xviii. 5), referring to xvii. 14, 15.

'And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus,' &c. (xix. 1), referring to xviii. 23, which states that Paul went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order.

In xxi. 8, Philip is spoken of as 'one of the seven,' alluding to vi. 5, and especially to viii. 40, where we read that Philip 'was found at Azotus, and passing through, he preached in all the cities till he came to Caesarea.' He disappears at Caesarea, and reappears there after a long interval.

'For they had seen before with him in the city, Trophimus, an Ephesian,' &c. (xxi. 29), referring to xx. 4.

'And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him' (xxii. 20),

alluding to vii. 58; viii. 1. Here the coincidence is verbal in part.

'Certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple,' &c. (xxiv. 18), referring to xxi. 26.

The statement that Paul had appealed to Caesar, xxv. 21; xxvi. 32; xxvii. 24; xxviii. 19, refers to xxv. 11. These mutual references cannot be explained away by the criticism of Schwanbeck.[1]

6. The method of quotation is similar throughout the book. The Septuagint is the sole source of all citations, some of which are verbal, others a little altered, but unlike the Hebrew. Examples of the first kind are found in ii. 34, &c.; iv. 25, 26; viii. 32, 33; xiii. 33, 35. Instances of the second are in i. 20; ii. 17–21; iii. 22, 23, 25; vii. 3, 6, 7, 32, 49, 50; xiii. 34, 41, 47; xv. 16, 17; xxviii. 26, 27. A few differ so much from the Hebrew as to contradict it, though they are from the Greek, e.g. ii. 25, 28; vii. 42, 43; xv. 16, 17.

From these linguistic and other phenomena it is clear, that the writer of the book was not a mere compiler, but an author. If he used materials he did not put them together so loosely as to leave their language and style in the state he got them, but wrought up the component parts into a work having characteristics of its own. The repetition of a fact, such as Paul's conversion, is no proof that the writer was not master of his materials, though Schwanbeck[2] adduces it as such; nor does the work present any ground for the belief that he was dependent on written sources to an extent inconsistent with the freest treatment of history.

7. The identity of the writer with the third evangelist is undoubted, because the diction and style of both is the same. There are—

(*a*). Words peculiar to the Acts and gospel, such as:

[1] Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lucas, p. 51, *et seq.*
[2] Ibid. p. 70.

αἴτιον, Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22; Acts xix. 40. ἀναδεικνύναι x. 1; Acts i. 24. ἀναζητεῖν ii. 44, 45; Acts xi. 25. ἀνασπᾶν xiv. 5; Acts xi. 10. ἀνευρίσκειν ii. 16; Acts xxi. 4. ἀποδέχεσθαι viii. 40; ix. 11; Acts ii. 41; xv. 4; xviii. 27; xxi. 17; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 30. ἀποτινάσσειν ix. 5; Acts xxviii. 5. διαπορεῖν ix. 7; xxiv. 4; Acts ii. 12; v. 24; x. 17. διατηρεῖν Luke ii. 51; Acts xv. 29. διϊσχυρίζεσθαι xxii. 59; Acts xii. 15. δικαστής xii. 14; Acts vii. 27, 35. διοδεύειν viii. 1; Acts xvii. 1. ἐνεδρύειν xi. 54; Acts xxiii. 21. ἑξῆς with the article, vii. 11; ix. 37; Acts xxi. 1; xxv. 17; xxvii. 18. ἐπιδεῖν i. 25; Acts iv. 29. ἐπιβιβάζειν x. 34; xix. 35; Acts xxiii. 24. ἐπιφωνεῖν xxiii. 21; Acts xii. 22; xxi. 34; xxii. 24. ἐπιχειρεῖν i. 1; Acts ix. 29; xix. 13. εὐλαβής ii. 25; Acts ii. 5; viii. 2; xxii. 12. εὐτόνως xxiii. 10; Acts xviii. 28. ζωογονεῖν xvii. 33; Acts vii. 19. ἴασις xiii. 32; Acts iv. 22, 30. καθεξῆς i. 3; viii. 1; Acts iii. 24; xi. 4; xviii. 23. καθιέναι v. 19; Acts ix. 25; x. 11; xi. 5. καθότι i. 7; xix. 9; Acts ii. 24, 25; iv. 35; xvii. 31. κατακλείειν iii. 20; Acts xxvi. 10. κατακολουθεῖν xxiii. 55; Acts xvi. 17. κλάσις xxiv. 35; Acts ii. 42. μεγαλεῖα i. 49; Acts ii. 11. ὀδυνᾶσθαι ii. 48; xvi. 24, 25; Acts xx. 38. ὁμιλεῖν xxiv. 14, 15; Acts xx. 11; xxiv. 26. ὀχλεῖσθαι vi. 18; Acts v. 16. παραβιάζεσθαι xxiv. 29; Acts xvi. 15. περιλάμπειν ii. 9; Acts xxvi. 13. προϋπάρχειν, xxiii. 12; Acts viii. 9. σκάπτειν vi. 48; xiii. 8; xvi. 3. σκάφη Acts xxvii. 16, 30, 32. στρατιά ii. 13; Acts vii. 42. συγγένεια i. 61; Acts vii. 3, 14. συμβάλλειν ii. 19; xiv. 31; Acts iv. 15; xvii. 18; xviii. 27; xx. 14; συμπληροῦν viii. 23; ix. 51; Acts ii. 1. συναθροίζειν xxiv. 33; Acts xii. 12; xix. 25; συναρπάζειν viii. 29; Acts vi. 12; xix. 29; xxvii. 15; συνεῖναι ix. 18; Acts xxii. 11. τραυματίζειν xx. 12; Acts xix. 16. ὑπολαμβάνειν vii. 43; x. 30; Acts i. 9; ii. 15 (3 John 8?)

(*b*). Favourite expressions and phrases occur in both, already given under 2.

(*c*). Peculiar forms of words, construction and phraseology, already specified under 4.

These phenomena prove that the author of both works is one and the same, a fact which no critic ventures to impugn.

8. Who then was the writer?

The most ancient opinion points to Luke, in favour of which both external and internal evidence speak.

As to the external:—

The authorship has been generally ascribed to Luke the evangelist, not merely because the third gospel has been assigned to him, but because all external evidence is to that effect. As we have put the gospel much later than Luke, the Acts were not written by him.

Various references to the Acts are marked by Hefele in Clement's epistle to the Corinthians. In the second chapter, where the words 'giving more willingly than receiving,'[1] are supposed to be taken from Acts xx. 35; in the fifth chapter, where Paul's seven times' imprisonment is spoken of; and in the eighteenth, where the beginning of a citation from Psalm lxxxviii. 21 is thought to resemble Acts xiii. 22. But these are uncertain, especially the last two. The first is probably from an apocryphal gospel. Nor does the Shepherd of Hermas show the existence of the Acts; only one place having a distant similarity to Acts iv. 12.[2]

Two passages in the Ignatian letters have been brought into connection with the Acts, one in the third chapter of that to the Smyrnaeans, 'After his resurrection he did eat and drink with them, as he was flesh,'[3] supposed to refer to Acts x. 41; and another in his letter to the Philadelphians, viz. 'for there are many wolves who seem worthy of belief,'[4] &c., supposed to allude to Acts

[1] ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες.

[2] Quod per nullum alium poteris salvum esse nisi per magnum et honorificum nomen ejus.—Lib. i.; Visio iv. 2.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός.

[4] πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι, κ.τ.λ.

xx. 29. The parallelism in both is slight. The epistle of Polycarp has one passage showing acquaintance with the Acts, viz. in the first chapter, where we read that God 'raised up Christ, having loosed the pains of death,[1] alluding to Acts ii. 24. Another, which is appealed to for the same purpose, 'if we suffer for his name let us glorify him,'[2] is too remote from Acts v. 41.

The Clementine homilies have but one place that can be supposed to contain a reference to the Acts, viz. in iii. 53, the words, 'I am he of whom Moses prophesied saying, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up,'[3] &c. It is unlikely, however, that the writer of the homilies took it from the Acts rather than tradition.

It is doubtful whether Justin Martyr employed the book or cited it. Probably it was not unknown to him, though he made no use of it. Some passages resemble parts of the Acts, though the likeness might have been accidental.[4]

In the epistle to Diognetus, there are but two places that resemble passages in the Acts, one in the third and another in the eleventh chapter; but the resemblance is remote except in sense.

A passage from the third gospel and the Acts is given in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177). 'They prayed for those who were so bitter in their hostility, like Stephen that perfect martyr; Lord lay not this sin to their charge' (Acts vii. 60).[5] This is the first definite evidence of the existence of the work. Irenaeus expressly assigns it to Luke; and later writers do the same. We are thus brought to the close of the second century for the first express notice of author-

[1] ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεός, λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου.—Cap. 1.

[2] καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐταῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν.—Cap. viii.

[3] ἐγώ εἰμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφήτευσεν εἰπών· Προφήτην ἐγερεῖ ὑμῖν Κύριος, κ.τ.λ.—*Il.* iii. 53.

[4] See Zeller's Die Apostelgeschichte u. s. w., p. 26, *et seq.*

[5] καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ἠῦχοντο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς· Κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην.

ship; there is no proof of its existence prior to A.D. 160. Hence no testimony reaches high enough to prove the assumed authorship. If the work originated about A.D. 120, the date cannot be disproved; and there was time enough between it and A.D. 180 for the traditional opinion to take root. The earliest and all but universal view was that which assigned the work to Luke.

Internal evidence does not justify the current tradition respecting authorship. The work itself does not state that Luke wrote it. At chapter xvi. 10, the pronoun *we* first occurs, when Paul was about to leave Troas. The *we* continues till the seventeenth verse, and disappears till xx. 5, when the pronoun occurs again in connection with Troas. From this place the writer appears to have accompanied the apostle to Jerusalem. At xxi. 18 the *we* again disappears, and is not resumed till xxvii. 1, at the commencement of the apostle's journey from Caesarea to Rome. Hence the *we*-sections are strictly xvi. 10–17; xx. 5–xxi. 18; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16. From Troas the person implied in the pronoun accompanies Paul to Philippi, but is not imprisoned there, for Paul and Silas leave the place without him. Nothing farther is known of the concealed individual till he joins the apostle again at Troas, and accompanies him to Jerusalem, where he is lost sight of till he goes from Caesarea to Rome. For our present object it is not necessary to abide by the *we*-sections closely, since the authorship of the whole book is under discussion. Is it possible or probable that a companion of the apostle could have written the narratives after xvi. 10? The 16th chapter furnishes evidence to the contrary. The circumstances relating to the imprisonment of Paul and Silas at Philippi, are sufficient to disprove the authorship of an eye-witness. In like manner, an eye-witness could hardly have represented the apostle as acting in the manner described in xxi. 20–28, &c., performing a Jewish rite in the temple, that the people

might see his continued adherence to the law, or as speaking and acting in the way represented in xxiii. 6, &c., where his statement was adapted to give a false impression, and he resorted to a questionable measure in self-defence. The same unhistorical air is more apparent in the 28th chapter, verses 3–10. The second part of the book contains other descriptions, the credibility of which cannot be maintained. The first part also justifies our conclusion. The Pentecostal speaking with tongues must have been known to Luke as a different thing from employing foreign languages. He must also have known, that Peter was not the first to assert the great principle of the right of Gentiles to the privileges of Christianity (x. 35), but Paul. Nor would a companion of the apostle himself have made the narratives of the latter's conversion and stay in Jerusalem contradictory and improbable in several respects. In short, a fair examination of the contents betrays a later stand-point and an apologetic design. The traditional and miraculous elements, appearing in strong and frequent colours, with other internal phenomena, set aside the idea of Luke's authorship. The great apostle of the Acts is sometimes too unlike the writer of his own epistles to allow of the supposition that a friend or companion could have written the book.

How then did the belief of Luke's authorship arise? How did it become general in the early churches? Whoever the unknown person was, he wrote as if he were a companion of Paul, and probably under the garb of Luke. To recommend his production, he set it forth in the name of one who was commonly believed to be an associate of the apostle. This method of writing, common in the first and second centuries—especially the latter—so far from being adopted with a purpose to deceive, was followed out with a laudable object, according to the ideas of the time. Its representatives considered it right

to treat past history from a religious point of view, in furtherance of the doctrines they held. As they did not possess any proper notion of historical criticism, the turn they gave to events of the past did not seem to them a perversion of the facts, but a mode of looking at them adapted to circumstances.

There is some plausibility in the view that Timothy wrote such parts of the book as have the first person, viz. xvi. 10–17; xx. 5–15; xxi. 1–18; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16. The distinguished critics, Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Bleek, hold it, giving several reasons in its favour. It is alleged that Paul's companions are named elsewhere (xiii. 2, 5; xv. 2, 40; xvi. 3; xviii. 18; xx. 4), but Luke never, not even at xvi. 10, where it is believed that he joined Paul. Scheckenburger's reply, that Titus is neither named at Acts xv. 2, nor elsewhere, is irrelevant, because Titus does not appear in the book.

The close connection between xvi. 10 and the preceding verse, does not consist with the idea that Luke appeared as Paul's companion just at the time, and is included in the pronoun *we*. The introduction of the first person plural is abrupt and unexpected. No preparatory circumstance suggests it. But it can be proved that Timothy was in Paul's company since xvi. 10. So too from xx. 5 and onwards; also during the journey to Rome, xxvii. 1, &c. It is improbable that Luke joined Paul so early as xvi. 10, because he is unnoticed in the epistles to the Thessalonians; and the silence of the Philippian epistle is opposed to the view that he stayed at Philippi. The absence of Luke's name from the epistles written before the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, is fatal to the supposition that he accompanied Paul from Troas onward. Again, Timothy is not mentioned in xvi. 19, &c. This agrees with the fact that *he* was the narrator, not Luke, else he would have been specified as he is elsewhere (xvii. 14, &c.; xviii. 5).

The eye-witness is a Jewish-christian, according to

the designations of time used in xx. 6; xxvii. 9. Luke was a Gentile.

Schneckenburger,[1] however, supposes that the use of a Jewish calendar, by Gentile-christians, is highly probable, at least before one peculiarly Christian was adopted; to which Lekebusch[2] adds, that the writer accompanied Paul, who, as a native Jew, employed the Jewish reckoning; but both are mere assumptions, the former tacitly taking for granted the early composition of the book.

Against Timothy is the passage in Acts xx. 4, 5, where the writer distinguishes himself from certain persons mentioned by name, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus. 'These having gone forward waited for *us* at Troas.' Hence the author was not Timothy. It is contrary to the ordinary rules of construction to refer the pronoun, *these*, at the beginning of the fifth verse, to the last two persons only, i.e. to Tychicus and Trophimus. It must refer to all the names, including Timothy's.

Yet it is more likely that Timothy is included in the *we*-section than Luke, though many arguments, including some plausible ones, have been advanced against the hypothesis by Lekebusch.

It should not be inferred on this account that he wrote the whole book, as Mayerhoff supposes,[3] because it involves the untenable opinion that Timothy wrote the third gospel, not to speak of the insuperable objections lying against it in the Acts; and that Luke merely transcribed the two works written by Timothy, adding a few words here and there.

It is less likely that Silas was the writer included in the first person plural, than either Luke or Timothy. Yet Schwanbeck supposes that he wrote the memoranda beginning at xv. 13, and the rest of the book, with a few

[1] Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte, p. 18.
[2] Die Composition und Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte, pp. 391, 392.
[3] Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, pp. 1–30.

exceptions. The words of xv. 22 could hardly have come from him: 'Then it pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas surnamed Barnabas, and Silas, *chief men among the brethren.*'

Farther remarks upon the Silas-hypothesis, are unnecessary, after the refutation of it by Lekebusch and Zeller.

As to the identification of Silas and Luke, it is utterly improbable, whatever similarity exists between the names Lucas or Lucanas, and Silas or Silvanus—the one derived from *lucus*, a grove; the other from *silva*, a wood.

It is impossible to discover the person included in the *we*-sections. He may have been Luke, though the designations of time, in xx. 6; xxvii. 9, are against this view. At any rate, it is pretty clear that he was an eye-witness of the events described, and kept a journal. The general writer was distinct from him, and gives evidence enough of his remoteness from the times and scenes he speaks of. Among the materials at his disposal, he inserted these *we*-portions from the journal kept by the companion of Paul; usually but not always, without alteration. The first person plural was left untouched.

No proper link of connection can be inferred between the authorship of the *we*-paragraphs and the rest of the treatise because the first person is also used in i. 1. On the contrary, the first person *singular* in i. 1, is rather against the identity of the two.

LEADING OBJECT.

Various critics since Schneckenburger have remarked that there is a striking coincidence between the actions and fortunes of Peter with the primitive apostles on the one hand, and those of Paul on the other. Peter begins his active ministry by healing a man who had been lame

from his birth; Paul performs his first act of healing upon a cripple at Lystra who had never walked. As the shadow of Peter is supposed to work miraculous cures, so handkerchiefs and aprons belonging to Paul, possess a magic efficacy. Peter and his companions expel demons; so does Paul at Ephesus, Philippi, and elsewhere. Peter conquers Simon Magus and his sorceries; Paul shews his mastery over Elymas the sorcerer and Ephesian magic. Peter performs a severe miracle on Ananias; Paul does the same to the seven sons of Sceva, through the instrumentality of an evil spirit. The one raises up Tabitha from the dead; the other Eutychus. Peter has worship offered him by Cornelius; the people at Lystra are on the point of sacrificing to Paul. The barbarous inhabitants of Malta call the latter a god. This parallelism is remarkable. Can it represent authentic history? Can it be a traditional type which the writer followed? There is nothing improbable in the idea that the author took his facts in part from existing sources. But it is highly improbable that these sources had the coincidences in question. They indicate purpose, and can scarcely have been accidental or providential. The historical cycles of Providence are on a larger scale, and at longer intervals. They are also occupied with great classes of events rather than individual acts. The similarity of miraculous efficacy in the instances mentioned, is striking.

What was the source of this parallelism? It seems to us that Peter's acts were the originals of Paul's. Co-ordinate authority must be ascribed to both, according to the writer. And Peter's deeds were taken from a source which had its root in the idea that the signs of apostleship must be agreeable to accepted precedents or those of the Old Testament prophets.

In like manner, there is a parallel between the sufferings that befell Paul on the one side, and Peter with his companions, on the other. Paul was imprisoned, as

Peter and the other apostles were. Paul was beaten at Philippi; so were the original apostles at Jerusalem. Paul was stoned; so was his prototype, Stephen. As Peter was delivered from prison by an angel, and the apostles also (v. 20), an earthquake set Paul free. The apostles are said to be endowed with the power of handling poisonous serpents with impunity (Luke x. 19), Paul shakes off a viper, without receiving hurt.

Amid all the opposition he meets with, it is remarkable that the apostle Paul is not seriously injured; or if he be, the injury tends to his exaltation. He was stoned at Lystra, but he rose up immediately, to all appearance unhurt. Such was the special providence watching over him. He was incarcerated at Philippi but miraculously delivered at night, and entreated by the duumvirs in the morning to depart. He became a prisoner in Palestine, and was taken to Rome; but that led to a series of defences, proving his innocence in the eyes of Jewish and heathen authorities. The Pharisees (xxiii. 9), King Agrippa, Lysias, the two procurators, admitted his innocence. He suffered shipwreck on his voyage to Italy, but was miraculously saved. All lives in the vessel were given to him. Thus the apostle triumphs under the most adverse circumstances. His death is unnoticed, in accordance with the general desire to glorify him.

Were these all the sufferings which Paul endured, we might think them the result of the circumstances he was placed in, and see nothing incredible in the protection he experienced. But they are not. There is a selection of cases. The second epistle to the Corinthians shows that the majority of his misfortunes are omitted. He received thirty-nine stripes five times; he was thrice shipwrecked; he was frequently imprisoned; he was thrice beaten with rods (2 Cor. xi.). Why are these omitted, as also his fighting with beasts at Ephesus, and his struggles to preserve the Galatian churches from the Judaising

Christians? His bodily infirmities and temptations are also passed over. The omission of such disasters is not accidental, and therefore the similarity of those narrated in the Acts to what befell the primitive apostles, belongs to the writer, who had an object in introducing correspondent misfortunes—some from tradition, others perhaps, from his own invention. The primitive apostles and Paul pass through parallel disasters without injury, nay rather with honour, because they are never left without guardian angels, or timely miracles on their behalf.

There is also a parallelism between the apostolic qualifications of Paul and the primitive apostles. The personal appearance of Christ to the former being a prominent feature, his conversion is related three times. In xviii. 9; xxii. 18; xxiii. 11, he is favoured with similar manifestations. By such means he becomes a witness of the resurrection of Jesus, which was necessary to apostleship according to i. 22. The visions of Peter and Paul are strikingly alike. The one which opened to Peter a mission to the Gentiles (x.) resembles that which called Paul to the same career. The very voice that spoke seems to be represented as the voice of Christ (x. 14). There are two visions between Peter and Cornelius, as there are two relating to Paul and Ananias. The visions which both apostles had are narrated by themselves, repeatedly. Paul possessed the power of imparting the Holy Spirit by the imposition of his hands, like Peter. This mark of an apostle was decisive; and therefore the apostle of the Gentiles is not behind the favourite chief of the Jewish-christians. Paul must be like the primitive apostles in official qualifications.

The conduct of Paul and of the original apostles leads to the same conclusion as the parallels already noticed. We have seen how he acts like a pious Israelite, goes up to the national sanctuary, performs vows, undertakes

a Nazarite offering for the very purpose of showing that he did not teach apostasy from the law, preaches to the Jews first, and turns to the Gentiles with reluctance, consents that the Gentile-christians should be required to abstain from fornication as if it were on a par with ceremonial observances, and circumcises Timothy out of respect to the Jews. On the other hand, the Jerusalemite church comes near to Paul's position by recognising at once the principle of Gentile baptism. Philip preaches to the half-gentile Samaritans; Peter and John are sent to lay their hands on the baptized. Peter baptizes Cornelius the Gentile; and a Gentile-christian church at Antioch, founded before the public appearance of Paul, is recognised by the original church at Jerusalem, which latter sends a communication to the believers there and elsewhere, releasing them from the law and circumcision, at the recommendation of Peter and James. Such accounts proceed from a writer who alters circumstances, introduces unhistorical details, turns facts aside from their bearing, and draws upon his imagination.

The teaching of Paul accords with his conduct. It is accommodated to the friendly relation he bears to Judaism, and loses its characteristic stamp accordingly. Instead of its being impregnated with the doctrines of man's universal sinfulness, the abrogation of the law of works, justification by faith, and atonement by the blood of Christ, it is characterised by the exhibition of Jesus's resurrection and Messiahship, repentance and good works. His preaching savours of a Jewish-christian rather than of one who did so much to sever Christianity from Judaism. He utters Petrine sentiments. On the other hand, Peter and the early apostles express liberal Pauline ideas. Peter declares that God put no distinction between Jews and Gentiles; and terms the law a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. James himself declares the right of all

the Gentiles to the privileges of Christianity. Thus Paul on the one hand, and the primitive Jerusalem church on the other, approximate in opinion. The one becomes more Jewish-christian than his epistles warrant; the other more Pauline than all independent accounts represent. Both parties lose their distinctive peculiarities in part, showing that the writer has treated them from his own point of view.

It is also noteworthy, that the conflicts of Paul with the Jewish-christians in almost all places where there were Gentile converts, are unnoticed. Titus, the uncircumcised friend of the apostle, is not once named, though he was the cause of a dispute at Jerusalem; and the encounter with Peter at Antioch is passed by. The apostle's relations to the Jewish-christian party are friendly rather than adverse. He is often at Jerusalem with the twelve; the brethren there receive him gladly. It is the unbelieving Jews who appear as his adversaries, not Judaising Christians; and therefore the former alone are specified even in the places where the apostle encountered the enmity of the latter, as in Corinth and Ephesus (xx. 3, 19).

So too, unfavourable circumstances in Paul's relations to churches are omitted. The second visit to the Corinthians is passed over because it was a sad one, as we learn from 2 Cor. ii. 1: 'I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness;' language inapplicable to his first visit, and therefore implying a second.

An attentive reader will be able to detect the apologetic or conciliatory motive in the omission or insertion of other particulars. Thus, the eleemosynary journey of Paul to Jerusalem, in the 11th chapter, arose from a wish to obviate the offence that the four years' absence of the apostle from the theocratic centre might have given to Jewish-christians.

These observations lead to the conclusion that the

object of the writer was conciliatory. He had two parties in view, Jewish- and Gentile-christian, which he wished to bring nearer to one another. In the interest of that object, he moulds the history. A Gentile-christian himself, and regarding Paul as the great apostle, he shows how near he comes to Peter and the other apostles in conduct and sentiments, while fully equal to them in official qualifications. They resemble one another and are on the most amicable terms. The parallelism between them indicates their common interests and labours. When at last Paul is brought to Rome, the metropolis of the heathen world, the writer has attained his purpose. That fact and its consequences show the universal aspect of Christianity. Paul becomes the apostle of the Gentiles in the fullest sense, when the Jews generally reject his message, in fulfilment of the prophecies. To further Pauline Christianity by bringing the two ecclesiastical parties more closely together, was the author's leading aim. This opinion is confirmed by the third gospel, in which the writer was actuated by a like purpose.

At the same time, many phenomena in the book seem to disagree with this purpose. Had it been in the writer's mind, it has been asked, why did he not state other things, such as the parallel deaths of Paul and Peter? Why has he set down many facts and particulars which have either no perceptible relation to it, or an unsuitable one? Objections of this nature, which play an important part in the criticisms of men like Lekebusch, overlook the fact that the writer had to do with things described in written documents or handed down by tradition. He did not invent but narrate a history. He could not therefore mould all into one consistent shape, but could only give a bias according to his purpose. In selecting, abridging, modifying, and altering his materials, he had to maintain a measure of historical fidelity, else his purpose would have been

defeated. History must not be converted into fiction; it must retain features of verisimilitude. The conciliatory tendency runs through the book in a gentle stream, not in that overwhelming force which could only have arisen from abandoning the materials so far as to efface almost all marks of authentic narrative or historical probability.

DATE AND PLACE.

From the contents of the first chapter compared with the end of the gospel, an interval of several years must be put between the two books, bringing the date of the Acts to about A.D. 125.

The sudden termination of the work is often explained by the fact that events had not proceeded farther at the time. The history, it is said, was written during the captivity with which it closes. The contents however show that they were composed much later; and the abrupt ending is better explained in another mode than those proposed by Hug and Schrader.

The only passage supposed to have a direct bearing on the time when the author wrote is viii. 26: 'And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert.' The last clause of the verse is difficult of explanation, because the pronoun translated *which* may relate to *the city* Gaza, not *the road* leading to it; in which case the state of the city is indicated shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, when the Jews laid waste numerous towns and villages, including Gaza, in revenge for the massacre at Caesarea. Thus the passage would fix the time of writing a little before the destruction of Jerusalem. It is better to make the pronoun agree with *the way*, and so the words cease to have any bearing on the date. If this be considered improbable, the clause may be a gloss, as Kuinoel and others conjectured.

The traditional and legendary elements of the book consign it to a comparatively late period. Thus the transformation of the original gift of tongues, from what it was in the apostolic age into the miraculous speaking in new languages, shows that the true account of the charism had been changed. As the gift is introduced not only at Pentecost but at the conversion of Cornelius and the baptism of John's disciples, the writer considered it to consist of nothing else than the power of speaking in unknown tongues. Such an idea of its nature could not have originated till many years after the apostolic time. In like manner, the general tendency of the work agrees with a late date. The attempted conciliation of opposite parties refers to a stage of their development at which the rough angles of conflict had been worn off, and they had begun to look at common ground rather than distinctive differences. Jewish and Pauline Christianity were no longer the directly adverse things they had been, as the epistle to the Galatians and Apocalypse present them. Paul had rejected the essential principle of Judaic Christianity, i.e. the validity of the law, without limitation; declaring that the person who still insisted on circumcision renounced connection with the kingdom of Christ; and rigorists of James's party had refused to associate with the uncircumcised (Gal. ii. 11, &c.). Jewish-christians who are the only true root of the Christian theocracy (Rev. vii. 1; xiv. 1), would not recognise Paul as a true apostle, according to the epistles to the Corinthians; while the 2nd and 3rd chapters of the Apocalypse censure the eating of flesh connected with idols, which Paul allowed. Thus when Paul and John wrote, the antagonism of the two ecclesiastical parties was direct. In James's epistle and that to the Hebrews, the same antithesis appears less strongly. Faith and works are still in the foreground of the respective positions occupied by the religious world. But in the Acts,

the difference between faith and works is in the background. Doctrinal opposition hardly appears. The ideas of the two parties approach one another; and the question between them is practical. All turns on the validity of the Mosaic law and the admissibility of the Gentiles to the privileges of Christianity. The apostle Paul shows respect for Jewish rites, and circumcises Timothy; he acts in many respects like a Jew; while Peter utters Pauline ideas, and is the instrument of the Gentiles' first admission into the kingdom of Christ. The two ecclesiastical parties had become less antagonistic, so that a work could be written to promote their union.

There are also slight hierarchical tendencies which favour a late date. The Samaritans, whom Philip the deacon baptized, could only receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of an apostle's hands. Is there not here a trace of episcopal tendencies? In like manner, the heretics pointed at in xx. 29, &c., are alluded to in the general way customary in the second century. Thus Justin, speaking of Marcion, writes: 'many persuaded by him, as the only one acquainted with the truth . . . are carried off irrationally, like lambs by a wolf, and become the prey of atheistic doctrines and of demons.'[1] Using the same figure, Ignatius, in his epistle to the Smyrnaeans, calls heretics 'beasts in the shape of men.'[2]

These phenomena in the work point to the second century, and to the former part of it because the opposition of Paulinism and Judaism gave place to Gnostic speculations in the second half of the century. Paulinism pushed to an extreme became *gnosis*, which overpowered Judaistic Christianity altogether. The turn taken by the old antagonism of parties was the Gnostic separation of the God of the Jews from the Supreme

[1] ᾧ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες . . . . ἀλόγως ὡς ὑπὸ λύκου ἄρνες συνηρπασμένοι βορὰ τῶν ἀθέων δογμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων γίνονται.—*Apol.* i. c. 58.

[2] θηρία ἀνθρωπόμορφα.—Cap. 4.

Deity; and no trace of this appears in the Acts. The germ of gnosis still lay undeveloped in Paulinism. We also see from Justin's 'Dialogue with Trypho,' that the relation of Jewish to Gentile Christianity implied in the Acts was different then. When the Acts were written Jewish Christianity was in the ascendant, because the utmost concessions attainable from it by the Pauline Christianity were the things specified in the decrees of the apostolic convention. In Justin, free conceptions of Christianity have advanced much farther. Jewish Christianity is an insignificant item. Justin says that those Gentile-christians who adopted Judaism, like the strict Jewish-christians, might *perhaps* be saved.[1] This shows that Judaistic Christianity was almost hereticated by the Church. The Acts must be dated before Justin. How long it is difficult to determine, probably twenty or thirty years.

To this late date it is objected by Meyer, that there is no certain trace of the use of Paul's letters in the book, but on the contrary that there is much in it opposed to the historical notices they contain. The objection holds equally good against his own date, A.D. 80. Besides, he is inconsistent in allowing that much in the Acts is contradictory to historical notices in the epistles; since these contradictions are resolved, in his commentary, into mutual supplements. Reluctantly does he admit, that even with respect to Paul the history has many gaps, and is inappropriate in numerous points, as the epistles show; while his explanation of this by the contracted nature of the accounts with which the author was obliged to be satisfied at the late period of his writing (A.D. 80), when he had not better information from the apostle or other witnesses, or had not been an eye-witness himself, is inadequate. If such be the character of Luke in writing the Acts—if he had sometimes to

[1] Chapter 47.

depend on imperfect accounts and incongruous materials—the credibility of the history is impaired. It is highly improbable that a companion of the apostle would have delayed to write so long; or that he could have been confined to sources of information often incomplete and difficult to be adjusted to the epistles.

The place of writing is uncertain. It was probably Rome, as Theophilus appears to have been an Italian. The abrupt termination leads to this view. Roman Christians would not need to be told about the fate of the apostle after he was in Rome. And there is an evident tendency in the work to find in that city the culminating point of Paul's activity, the goal of his labours. On the day of Pentecost strangers of Rome were at Jerusalem. Paul says, 'I must see Rome' (xix. 21). He had to bear witness at Rome (xxiii. 11). He appeals to the Roman emperor, when he might have been released in Palestine. His Roman citizenship is spoken of. He is made to pass rapidly through eastern parts, that his European ministry may be dwelt upon. The anterior existence of the Roman church is ignored, that he may appear its proper founder. At Rome he breaks away from the Jews for ever, and turns wholly to the Gentiles. Thus Rome had a peculiar interest for the writer. When he brings the apostle thither, his object is attained. A member of that church intending to promote liberal Christianity, would naturally do so through the medium of a conciliatory work, making Paul stand out as the chief figure. To represent the apostle in the accurate light of his own letters would have been prejudicial to his design, because the Jewish element in the church was sufficiently strong, even in the second century. The feeling there was powerful against Paul, so much so as to make Peter his fellow-worker in Rome, and afterwards the founder and first bishop of the church, in defiance of history. There too in the same century, the

Clementine literature originated, with its hostility to the apostle Paul. A Pauline Christian at Rome might well undertake to bring the ecclesiastical parties there nearer to one another, in a work like the Acts. It may serve perhaps to strengthen the view of Rome's being the birth-place of the book, that the first traces of its use are found there. The epistle of Polycarp, where the earliest evidence of its existence appears, was probably of Roman origin. Justin too, and the Clementine homilies, were acquainted with it. On the whole Rome was probably the place where it first appeared, about A.D. 125.

CHRONOLOGY.

The materials are disposed in chronological order, though the writer does not mark times or dates. When he does allude to them, his references are so general that no exact point for reckoning can be got. He speaks often of days, seldom of years. The latter part of the history has more notices of time than the former; probably because many of the materials were from an eye-witness.

The only event in the book which can be fixed with certainty is the death of Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44, from which we may reckon backwards and forwards. The writer begins with Pentecost, which took place ten days after the ascension, whence events are narrated in chronological succession. But the section in viii. 4–xii. 23 is synchronous. Between the commencement of the history and Herod's death, i.e. i. 1–xii. 23, most important events took place, viz. Stephen's martyrdom and Saul's conversion. We cannot ascertain how long that interval was; and different chronologists fix the ascension in different years, from A.D. 29 to 36. After Herod Agrippa's death, the apostle Paul becomes the prominent theme till his captivity at Rome. Thus the history embraces a period of about 31 years. The events

which serve as chronological landmarks are, Stephen's death, Paul's conversion, death of Herod, famine in Palestine in the time of Claudius, banishment of the Jews from Rome, Gallio's proconsulship at Corinth, Felix's procuratorship of Judea, and Festus's entrance on office. All these have been ably investigated by Wieseler,[1] whose results are generally correct, though in some instances of minor importance, he cannot be followed.

STATE OF THE TEXT.

The text of the Acts has come down from early times in a corrupt state. No part of the New Testament has suffered more from arbitrary caprice. Perhaps the book was so treated by heretics rather than the catholic Church: for it was rejected or little esteemed by the Manicheans, Severians, Marcionites, and others. Though the Ebionites did not repudiate it, Epiphanius says that they had an apocryphal book of Acts filled with statements depreciating Paul. Perhaps also the neglect of the work led to the deterioration of its text. It was not much read in the early churches; and Chrysostom says it was wholly unknown to many Christians, a statement that may be rhetorical exaggeration, as Olshausen thinks. From whatever cause, the contents did not attract so much attention or interest as other books, and their public reading was little attended to. The history may have been less esteemed because it was considered of less importance than that in the gospels. One thing is certain —that great liberties were taken with the text in primitive times. The most considerable interpolations are viii. 37; in ix. 5, 6, 'it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said

[1] Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, 1848.

unto him;' and in xxiv. 6, 7, 8 the words 'and would have judged according to our law; but the chief captain Lysias came upon us and with great violence took him away out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come unto thee,' which the best editors expunge.

The Greek text, as it appears in MSS. D. E., especially the former, and as represented in the old Latin and Syriac versions, is peculiar. Additions, emendations, and explanatory notes, disfigure it. Yet Bornemann has edited the text after D. which he supposes to be the original one[1]—an idea that needs no refutation. Thus the nineteenth verse of the 14th chapter begins with 'now while they tarried and taught,' &c. &c., in C. D. E.[2] Instead of xvi. 39 D. has, 'and coming with many friends into the prison they besought them to go out, saying, We did not know your affair, that ye are just men; and when they had brought them forth they besought them, saying, Depart from this city lest those who cry out against you turn again to us; and when they had gone forth,' &c. It is apparent that these words never belonged to the genuine text, any more than a number of others which D. and its correlatives exhibit, such as those in xii. 10; xvi. 10. The perception of Bornemann is weak in not seeing the nature of the readings in D., that differ from the text of the oldest and best uncial MSS. But we must refer the reader to his long preface, where he will see sufficient evidence of a perverted judgment. No critic can subscribe to the statement, 'I think it beyond doubt that D. excels all other MSS. in internal goodness, to an extent that is incredible, and that a better and earlier text is contained in no other parchment which has come

[1] Acta Apostolorum ab sancto Luca conscripta, ad codicis Cantabrigiensis omnium praestantissimi reliquorumque monumentorum fidem, etc., 1847.

[2] C. omits the *and* between the participles.

down to our time, so that the work may be said to have issued from the most complete and ancient fountain of all.'

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of Meyer, 1861; De Wette, 1848; Olshausen, 1838; Baumgarten, 1852; Humphry, 1847; Hackett, 1852.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

AUTHENTICITY.

POLYCARP knew and used the epistle, since he writes to the Philippians, 'Every one who confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist.'[1] The resemblance of this language to 1 John iv. 2, 3, is apparent. Yet Scholten argues that it does not show Polycarp's acquaintance with the epistle.[2]

Eusebius states that Papias employed the epistle: 'He (Papias) has used testimonies out of John's first epistle.'[3]

The same historian says that Irenaeus often cited passages from it.[4] In accordance with this testimony we find allusions to it in his extant work against heresies, especially in iii. 16, where he expressly attributes it to the apostle John. Kirchhofer says that he cites it only three times, all in the same chapter.[5]

Clement of Alexandria has referred to the epistle repeatedly. Thus in his 'Miscellanies:' 'John also, in his larger epistle, seems to show the difference of sins. "It

[1] *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν.*—Cap. vii.

[2] Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T., p. 45.

[3] *κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς (ὁ Παπίας) μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτέρας Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς.*—*H. E.* iii. 39.

[4] H. E. v. 8.

[5] Adv. Haeres. pp. 241, 242, ed. Grabe.

any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death,"' &c.[1]

Tertullian received it as John's: 'Lastly, let us consider whom the apostle saw: "That which we have seen," says John, "which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,"' &c.[2]

Cyprian writes: 'And the apostle John, remembering the commandment afterwards put in his epistle, "In this," says he, "we understand that we have known him, if we keep his commandments."'[3]

Origen, speaking of the apostle John, says: 'He has also left an epistle of a very few lines. Perhaps also a second and third; for all do not allow these to be genuine. However, both together do not make a hundred lines.'[4]

Dionysius of Alexandria held the authenticity of the epistle and fourth gospel, on which ground he questions the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse.[5]

The epistle is found in the old Syriac version, which does not contain the second and third; and is also in the Muratorian canon.

Eusebius puts it among the writings universally received by the churches.[6]

Succeeding testimonies need not be given, since all are to the same effect. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others agree. Thus the letter

[1] *φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐκδιδάσκων ἐν τούτοις· Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα, κ.τ.λ.*—Lib. ii. p. 464, ed. Potter.

[2] Denique inspiciamus quem apostoli viderint. Quod vidimus, inquit Joannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, &c.—*Adv. Praxeam*, c. 15.

[3] Et Joannes apostolus mandati memor in epistola sua postmodum posuit: In hoc, inquit, intelligimus quia cognovimus eum, si praecepta ejus custodiamus, etc.—*Ep.* 28 (alii 25).

[4] *καταλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων στίχων· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας· πλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶ στίχων ἀμφότεραι ἑκατόν.*—Ap. *Euseb. H. E.* vi. 25.

[5] See Euseb. H. E. vii. 25.

[6] Among the *ὁμολογούμενα.*—*H. E.* iii. 25

is well attested by the voice of antiquity. As far as external evidence reaches, the authenticity seems to be secure.

Internal evidence is not favourable to apostolic authorship. Assuming the fourth gospel to be John's, some rely on internal evidence as proving identity of authorship between it and the first epistle; others contend that the apostle wrote neither.

The writer does not give his name. He does not say that he is John the apostle, or even John the presbyter. Nor do we think that he intends to intimate in the first five verses his identity with the author of the gospel, but only that he was an apostle and eye-witness. If John was alive at the time, the author wished perhaps to be considered that aged disciple; if he were not, the intention may still have been to personate one so distinguished. The author of the Apocalypse could not have been the letter-writer. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the apostle did not compose the fourth gospel. The only question of importance that remains is, Did the epistle and fourth gospel proceed from the same person? a question which most answer in the affirmative, because the evidence of identity is plausible.

(*a*). The epistle moves in the same circle of ideas as the gospel. Its leading views and representations are alike. The same ideas and expressions occur. The same images are used. The same dualism appears.

To do the truth (1 John i. 6; John iii. 21); *the truth is not in* one (i. 8; ii. 4; John viii. 44); *to be of the truth* (ii. 21; John xviii. 37); *to be of the devil*, or *children of the devil* (iii. 8; John viii. 44); *to be of God* (iii. 10; John vii. 17; viii. 47); *to be of the world* (iv. 5; John viii. 23); *to speak of the earth*, or *of the world* (iv. 5; John iii. 31); *to abide in God, and He in us* (iv. 13; John vi. 56; xv. 4, &c.); *to walk in darkness, in light* (i. 6, 7; ii. 11; John viii. 12; xii. 35); *to know God* or *Christ* (ii. 3, 4, 13, 14; iv. 6–8; v. 20; John xvi. 3;

xvii. 25; *to see God* (iv. 20; John i. 18; vi. 46; xiv. 9); *to lay down one's life* (iii. 16; John x. 11, 17, 18; xv. 13); *to have sin* (i. 8; John ix. 41; xv. 22, 24; xix. 11); *to have life* or *eternal life* (iii. 15; v. 12, &c.; John iii. 15, &c., 36; v. 24, 39, 40; vi. 40, 47, 54; x. 10); *knows not whither he goeth* (ii. 11; John xii. 35); *to pass from death to life* (iii. 14; John v. 24); *to overcome the world* (v. 4, &c.; John xvi. 33); *to receive testimony* (v. 9; John iii. 11, 32; v. 34); *to take away sin* (iii. 5; John i. 29); *to be able*, with respect to moral possibility (iii. 9; iv. 20; John v. 44; viii. 43; xiv. 17); *paraclete* (ii. 1; John xiv. 16); *murderer* (iii. 15; John viii. 44); *the only-begotten Son* (iv. 9; John i. 14, 18; iii. 16, 18); *commandment* (ii. 3, 4, 7, 8; iii. 22–24; iv. 21; v. 2, 3; John x. 18; xii. 49, 50; xiii. 34; xiv. 15, 21; xv. 10, 12).

An affirmation and negation occur beside one another as, *we lie and do not the truth* (1 John i. 6); *he confessed and denied not* (John i. 20); comp. also 1 John i. 5, 8; ii. 4, 10, 27, 28 with John i. 3; iii. 20; v. 24; vii. 18. Statements are made by antitheses placed beside each other: 1 John ii. 9, 10, 11, 23; iii. 6–8; iv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8; v. 10, 12; John iii. 18, 20, &c., 35, &c.; vii. 18; viii. 23; x. 10, &c. So too, antitheses contribute to the progress of the discourse, or to its greater exactness: *not—but*, 1 John ii. 2, 7, 21; iii. 18; iv. 1, 10, 18; v. 6, 18; John i. 8; iii. 17, 28; iv. 14; v. 22, 30, 34; vi. 32, 38. Explanations are subjoined with the introductory *this is*: 1 John i. 5; ii. 25; iii. 11, 23; v. 3, 11, 14; or *by this*: iii. 10; iv. 2, 9, 17; comp. John i. 19; iii. 19; vi. 29, 39, 40; xv. 12; xvii. 3.

Life is a predicate of Christ: 1 John i. 1, 2; v. 11, 20; John i. 4; vi. 33, 35, 48; xi. 25. *Light* is an attribute of God and Christ: 1 John i. 5, 7; ii. 8; John i. 4, 5, 7, &c.; iii. 19. *Testimony* and *to bear witness* are frequent ideas: 1 John v. 6, 9, 10, 11; John v. 36; viii. 17, &c. *The love of God in sending Christ* is stated by

both: 1 John iv. 9; John iii. 16. *Mutual love* as the commandment of Christ, is in 1 John iii. 11, 16, 18, 23; John xiii. 34; xv. 12, 17.[1]

(*b*). The verbal coincidences are most striking in—

1 JOHN.		GOSPEL.
i. 4	compared with	xvi. 24.
i. 10	„ „	viii. 37.
ii. 7, 8	„ „	xiii. 34.
ii. 11	„ „	xii. 35.
ii. 27	„ „	ii. 25; xvi. 30.
iii. 13	„ „	xv. 18.
iii. 5	„ „	i. 29.
iii. 8	„ „	viii. 34, &c.
iii. 16	„ „	x. 10–15.
iv. 5	„ „	xv. 19; xvii. 14, &c.
iv. 9	„ „	iii. 16.
iv. 12	„ „	i. 18.

Do these coincidences of view, idea, and expression prove identity of authorship? Is it the same writer who shows his mystic theology, his intuitional depth, his tenderness, simplicity, pathos? Does the attractiveness proceed from one spirit? The answer is not so easy as some imagine, because there is variation along with similarity. It is true that variation in such circumstances is not a necessary mark of different authorship, because no writer can be expected to repeat himself in two works, without introducing variety. But the deviations of the epistle from the gospel, though not numerous, are inconsistent with sameness of authorship.

1. The writer of the epistle speaks of Christ's *manifestation* or *coming*, in the manner of the apostolic epistles. *This event*, or *the day of judgment*, he apprehends as near, for it is *the last time*, because of the many antichrists who have appeared (ii. 18, 28). Of such eschatology the evangelist knows nothing. Instead of a visible, material coming, he speaks only of a spiritual

[1] See a collection of parallel passages in the conclusive work entitled 'A brief Examination of prevalent Opinions on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, by a Protestant layman of the Church of England,' p. 96, *et seq.*

reappearance. Christ's second advent is resolved into the Spirit's mission to the disciples. Jesus comes again to them only in the Comforter. And in relation to judgment, he speaks of it as present. Future and present are comprehended in the one idea of eternal life, whose possession is present. He attaches no importance to the future, because it had already become present. But in the epistle, a future, material advent, and a day of judgment are mentioned.

The force of this argument is not effaced by references to John v. 28, and ep. iii. 14, because in the former the personal reappearing of Christ is not implied; and in the latter, the present possession of eternal life does not exclude the future judgment (ii. 28) of the righteous. If the former passage be genuine, though Scholten suspects it to proceed from the writer of the 21st chapter, all the force that can be allowed it is small, because its materialistic character is out of harmony with the whole work. It contains a transient idea, not detracting from the impression of the entire gospel which sets forth an internal, spiritual judgment superseding an outward one performed in connection with raised bodies.

2. There is no trace of antichrist in the gospel, a circumstance in harmony with its genius. Victory over the evil principle is already accomplished by the death of Christ (xvi. 33). The writer of the epistle speaks of many antichrists in his time.

3. The doctrine of a *paraclete* distinct from Christ is wanting in the epistle. Indeed, the Spirit is never called the paraclete in it. Christ himself is so termed (ii. 1). The Spirit is viewed somewhat differently in the two works. We do not suppose that he is hypostatised in either; he is only personified. But in the epistle he is less closely identified with Christ. He *witnesses* and he *is truth*; but he is not the Spirit of Christ emphatically; so fully his representative as to be identified with

him. He is *the anointing* which believers receive from the holy One, which leads them into all knowledge and teaches them concerning all things; but it is not said that he proceeds directly from, or is sent by, Christ. His personification is not so prominent; nor is he brought into so close an union with Christ.

4. Christ is not termed the *Logos* or *Word* absolutely, as he is in the gospel. He is *the life*, *the eternal life* which was with the Father, *the Son of God*; not *the Word*. High as the epithets are, they imply a conception of his person inferior to the gospel's.

5. There is a subordinate polemic tendency in the epistle which is obviously anti-docetic. This is most conspicuous in the commencing words (i. 1–3), and in iv. 2. The gospel, so far from being anti-docetic, hovers on the borders of docetism. According to it, Jesus had a body not confined to the conditions of a material one, but such as could and did alter its form. In some respects the Logos resembled an aeon.

6. There is little doubt that the water and the blood in xix. 34 are symbolical, representing the cleansing and atoning efficacy of Christ. But in the epistle, the language, 'This is he who came by water and blood' (v. 6), has a different and less spiritual meaning, water and blood denoting baptism and the supper, the two sacraments he instituted. If the one passage has a designed reference to the other, the fact of their different acceptations implies different writers. The epistle intimates that, by the two standing institutions, the Spirit continually witnesses to the fact that Jesus is the Son of God: the gospel has no reference to sacraments.

7. The representation of the atonement in i. 7; ii. 2; iv. 10, is not the same as that of the gospel, which does not speak of *propitiation*. The cleansing power attributed to the blood of Christ resembles the view given in the epistle to the Hebrews. In the gospel Jesus is said to *take away* sin, and to *give his flesh* for the life of

the world, the former expression occurring in the epistle also; but the leading view of his death in the epistle is that it is propitiatory and cleansing, as if he were a high priest.

8. The distinction between venial and deadly sins is one unknown to the gospels, and savours of a post-apostolic time. Nothing like it is found in John; nor can we conceive the writer of the fourth gospel forbidding prayer to be offered by a Christian brother for another who had committed some deadly transgression. The sins unto death are a class, not one particular act; and cannot therefore be identified with the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost. It is also remarkable, that another part of the epistle seems contradictory to that passage in the 5th chapter which refers to mortal sin. 'The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.' How can this be, if a class of sins is unpardonable, necessarily leading to death and uninfluenced by prayer?

9. The attribute of *light* ascribed to God, who is also said to be *in the light*, is more materialistic than the conceptions of the gospel respecting the Supreme. There is a kindred idea in calling Christ *the true light*; but God is not so described in the fourth gospel.

10. Although the epistle, considered by itself, belongs to the ideal as well as the practical region, it has neither the tenderness nor depth of the gospel. It is weaker and monotonous. In logical energy it is far beneath the great work which it most resembles. If the same author wrote both, he was very unequal. But this is not probable. The spiritual and speculative soul, which was capable of composing the gospel, would scarcely dissolve its power in the vague generalities of the epistle. The difference between them is too marked to allow them to be attributed to the same person. While the conceptions and expression of the epistle have an excellence that often approaches those of the gospel, they also

betray inferiority. We admit that the gospel contains repetitions, but they are not so weak. We cannot conceive of its author writing: 'He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes;' 'By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments; for this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments;' 'He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous;' 'But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him;' 'I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake. I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father. I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning,' &c. &c. 'All that is *in the world.* . . is not of the Father but is *of the world.*'

These observations show diversity of authorship in the epistle and the fourth gospel, without disproving the opinion that John the apostle wrote the former. It is altogether improbable that the author of the Apocalypse composed the epistle, because the style of thought in them is very different. No critic can attribute the epistle to a Jewish-christian. Its genius is remote from Ebionitism. Many particulars belonging to it show a later writer putting himself into the apostolic age, as if he wished to be considered the apostle John. He has little of the concrete. No definite relations between the author and his readers appear. The individual element is all but absent. The polemics against the false teachers consist of a bare

negation; all that the author says about them being, that they went out of the church and were not Christians. Thus the Docetae are simply contradicted. Does not such vagueness arise from the position assumed between past and present; from the divided consciousness of the author, who moves in a circle of ideas created by abstraction? Had he been John himself, the apostle who had lived and laboured among the Christians about Ephesus and the surrounding district, we should have expected some life-like traits or special features distinguishing his readers and pointing out their peculiar temptations. Instead of this, the epistle consists of abstract generalities, intimating a man throwing himself back into the past, conveying the impression of apostleship and familiarity. The language is not that of direct life.

The same result is indicated by the anti-docetic tendency of the epistle. The docetic form of Gnosticism did not belong to the first century. It may be, that its seeds and germs existed in John's time; but if not unfolded, they were virtually non-existent, and did not need to be combated. It has been said that Cerinthus, the Gnostic, lived in the time of John. There is no proof that he did so; neither was he a proper Gnostic. Half Ebionite, half Gnostic, he was between the two. Gnosticism did not exist till the reign of Trajan, when John the apostle was dead, or so near death as to be unable to write.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

The date of the epistle is a difficult question, which cannot be argued in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem. One passage adduced to prove that Jerusalem had not been destroyed when the epistle was written is an unsafe foundation (ii. 18); since the phrase *it is the last time* is applied, after that event, to the coming of Christ,

by Ignatius in his epistle to the Ephesians.[1] Düsterdieck is incorrect in supposing it to contain a prophetic glance at the impending crisis, and in dating the letter A.D. 70.[2] Nor does the silence of the writer respecting the fall of Jerusalem favour an early date, as Huther[3] believes. The author is more subjective than objective. His great theme had no relation to Judaism.

The only way of putting the question is—Was the letter written before or after the fourth gospel? Some critics assert that it contains plain references to the gospel. The first four or five verses are specially appealed to by Lücke, Hug, and Baur. We have failed, however, to recognise these clear allusions, and cannot accept Baur's statement about the first four verses being a recapitulation of the gospel. The writer supposes that his readers were acquainted with evangelical truth; but does not intimate that he had instructed them, either by writing or orally. As to the expressions *I write* and *I have written*, they refer to the present epistle, the past and present tenses being used interchangeably, for the sake of variety and emphasis. The repetition of the phrase *little children* may perhaps be intended to show familiarity between the writer and his readers; but Paul addresses the Galatians in the same manner. Still the frequent use of it leads to the belief that something more is meant than a mere expression of endearment.

If we could see with Baur, that a great part of the contents are but weak echoes of an original far surpassing it, which the writer tries to imitate in matter and form; that there are reminiscences of the prologue in i. 5, &c., and that ii. 7, 8, where the commandment of love is termed both new and old, refers to John xiii. 34, new in relation to the gospel, not new in the sense

[1] Chapter xi.
[2] Die drei Johanneischen Briefe, vol. i., Einleitung, p. ciii.
[3] Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch über die drei Briefe des Johannes, Einleit. p. 27.

in which Jesus called it so, but old because they had it *from the beginning* (xv. 27); the priority of the gospel might be admitted.[1] But these presumptive evidences are doubtful. Nor does greater probability attach to Lücke's argument about the shorter and contracted expressions of the epistle being later than the more copious and similar phrases of the gospel. Does this usually happen, even in the case of the same writer? The younger one is, the more forcible and terse his language; while it spreads out, with age, into greater diffusiveness, and loses strength. The soundness of the argument, therefore, based as it is on the abbreviated formulas of the epistle respecting the Word (i. 1, 2), compared with John i. 1, &c., and on iv. 2, contrasted with John i. 14, is questionable. On the supposition of two writers, it appears to us incorrect.

As far as we can judge, the epistle preceded the gospel; though it must be confessed that the evidence in favour of this opinion is slight, and therefore it may not be generally accepted. Some good critics hold it, including Zeller, Hilgenfeld, and Huther. The writer of the epistle does not apply the title Word or Logos absolutely to Christ, as the author of the gospel does, which indicates a less advanced stage of christology. He also expects the Redeemer's second advent materially and personally to judge mankind, a view which the evangelist had left behind. Nor had he attained to the conception of the Spirit as *paraclete*, to that strong personification of the holy inspiration of Christians, which proceeds from the Father, and is implied in being sent by the Son, in being the Son's representative in them, so much so that his coming is the coming of the Son into their souls.

If the priority of the epistle be admitted, the circum-

[1] Theologische Jahrbücher von Baur und Zeller, 7ter Band, p. 293, *et seq.*

stance will help to lessen the surprise excited by the sudden appearance of a work like the fourth gospel, so far in advance of anything before it. An important link in the preparatory process which resulted in the fourth gospel, is supplied. The wonderful development of Christian consciousness in the evangelist was materially aided by the epistle. The later author looked beyond and above the other, not merely because his inspiration was higher, but because he had the advantage of another's work.

The exact date of the letter must be left in uncertainty. Perhaps we cannot come nearer it than A.D. 130. The place may have been Asia Minor.

PERSONS ADDRESSED.

Since the time of Augustine, the epistle has been often termed *ad Parthos*, to the Parthians, in the Latin church. It is so called by Augustine himself.[1] Vigilius Tapsensis, Cassiodorus, the venerable Bede, with various Latin MSS., mention the same title; and one Greek MS., 62, has it at the end of the second epistle.[2] It is evident, however, that the Greek church, and the Latin too prior to Augustine, were ignorant of the inscription. Probably it originated in a mistake. Among the various conjectures put forth to explain its origin, the most probable is Gieseler's,[3] according to which the subscription of the first and second epistles was at first, *Epistle of John the Virgin.*[4] This the Latins misunderstanding, converted into *Epistle*

[1] In the treatise Quaestionum Evangeliorum, lib. ii. quaest. 39. Opp. ed. Benedict. Paris. 1680, tom. iii., pars secunda, p. 266. The same inscription is also at the head of his tractates on the epistle; and in Possidius's Indiculus operum S. Augustini.

[2] *Ἰωάννου β' πρὸς πάρθους.*

[3] Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 106, English translation.

[4] *ἐπιστ. ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου.*

to the Parthians. John was early styled *virgin*, because he was unmarried. Whatever explanation be adopted, it is certain that the letter was not written to the Parthians. A Genevan codex is said to have *Sparthos* instead of *Parthos*, but Sabatier thinks that Dr. Patin, who says he saw the copy, mistook *Parthos* for *Sparthos*.[1] Yet Scholz describes such a copy there, with the inscription *ad Spartos*, and dates it in the twelfth century.[2]

The readers of the epistle were Gentile-christians. Hence they are warned against idolatry (v. 21), and docetism (iv. 1, &c.). There are no quotations from the Old Testament, or allusions to it. The author appears to be acquainted with the general state and prevailing temptations of those to whom he writes. The most likely view is, that the work was addressed to various churches of Asia Minor, including that of Ephesus, and was meant to be a circular one. This agrees with its position among the *catholic* epistles.

THE FORM.

The work is commonly called John's first epistle, and has been so styled from an early period. It has little, however, of the epistolary form, since inscription, salutation, and benediction are absent. But though the outward and common requisites of a formal epistle be wanting, its composition and texture show the propriety of the usual name. Internal qualities make up for the want of form. The readers are sometimes addressed in the second person; there are references to their condition, a loose connection of ideas, frequent repetitions, and other peculiarities of a colloquial style. Hence it cannot be called a *treatise* or *discourse;* nor should it be connected with the gospel, as though it were either

[1] Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae vol. iii. p. 965.
[2] Biblisch-kritische Reise u. s. w., pp. 66, 67.

its polemic or its practical part. It is not an accompaniment of the gospel, an introduction and preface commending John's work on the Logos to the entire Church, as Hug would have it. To link it to the larger work is to present it in a false aspect, because it is composed in a different method. There is no reason to think that it was meant to belong to the gospel, or that it ever had such proximity. The oldest MSS. and versions of both have them apart. Why were they not written together, if the one was a supplement or companion of the other? To this question Hug answers that the copyist of D furnishes the requisite evidence of what was the ancient practice. On the first page of the leaf on whose opposite side the Acts of the Apostles begin, he wrote the Latin column of the last verse belonging to John's third epistle, and subjoined words to the effect that the Acts now commence,[1] whence the critic infers that the copyist had an old MS. before him, in which John's epistles preceded the Acts immediately. This argument proves too much, because by it all the three are made accompaniments of or introductions to the fourth gospel.

OCCASION AND OBJECT.

A polemic purpose has been often attributed to the writer; and it cannot be denied that he has polemic allusions. He speaks of antichrists or false teachers, whom he condemns (ii. 18–26); of spirits or pretended spiritual teachers who did not acknowledge Christ's true humanity (iv. 1–6). The opening part of the letter points to the same persons. These can be none other than the Docetae, who believed that Christ took the appearance of a body only. But though he contradicts

[1] Epistulae Johannis iii.
explicit
incipit
Acta Apostolorum.—See Kipling's facsimile, p. 657, pars altera.

the Docetae, it is hardly correct to make the passages relating to them express the writer's leading object, since they are but a small part of the letter. The chief purpose does not appear to have been polemic. The author did not mean to combat a party or sect, because his notices of false teachers are subordinate, introduced into the execution of a more general design. It is only in a qualified sense that it can be said of the author that he wished to combat the Docetae.

What then was his leading object? To unfold clearly the Christian consciousness residing in believers, in order to raise them to the full perception of their immediate communion with the Father and the Son. They are reminded of what they are, of their life in God and its practical results, and are exhorted to hold fast their present position. Faith in the name of the Son should be exemplified in mutual love and keeping of the commandments. The author himself says, 'These things have I written unto you, that ye may know ye have eternal life while believing in the name of the Son of God' (v. 13). Under a purpose so comprehensive, various subordinate objects might be attained; and therefore he frequently introduces such phrases as *I write* or *I have written*, accompanied with a variety of statements. Thus in i. 4: 'These things write we unto you, that your joy may be full.'

INTEGRITY.

There was once a protracted controversy respecting the words in v. 7, 8: 'in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one; and there are three that bear witness on earth.' Now, it is all but universally admitted that they are spurious, the evidence of MSS., versions, and fathers being clearly against them. It would appear strange that champions should have appeared in their favour after the masterly

treatise of Porson,[1] did we not know that theological error lingers long, especially where the doctrine of the Trinity is supposed to be involved. Hence the persevering but abortive efforts of Bishop Burgess; the feeble attempt of Sander; and the perverse criticism of Forster. We need not state the evidence for and against the passage, since it has been given elsewhere.[2] Lachmann and Tischendorf omit the words, after Griesbach.

In ii. 23, the clause, 'he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also,' is usually printed in italics in English Bibles, because the translators had a doubt of its genuineness. But it is amply attested by external evidence, being in the most ancient and best MSS., ℵ, A., B., C., &c. Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf receive it into the text.

CONTENTS.

It would only occupy space to give the different divisions of the epistle adopted by the critics. Düsterdieck and Huther enumerate those of Bengel, Rickli, Sander, Lücke, De Wette, Ewald; and propound their own. We might add Erdmann's, Hilgenfeld's, and Baur's. Huther's objections to Düsterdieck are pertinent, and his own division is decidedly superior. The epistle may be divided into four parts and an introduction. These parts, however, are not separated from one another externally, but lie in the ideas of the writer rather than their outward expression. They are: i. 5–ii. 11; ii. 12–29; iii. 1–22; iii. 23–v. 21. The introduction consists of the first four verses and indicates the theme of the whole.

i. 5–ii. 11. This portion is pervaded by the contrast between walking in darkness and walking in light. Light and darkness are the two opposites set forth.

[1] Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in answer to his Defence of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John v. 7. 1790. 8vo.

[2] Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. ii. p. 403, &c.

The author reminds his readers of the ground of communion with the Father and the Son, the holy nature of God, and the purity indispensable to fellowship with Him. This communion implies first, purification and redemption by the death of Christ. The idea of purification is then developed. Its conditions are, the perception and confession of sin as well as repentance for it; and should one fall into sin notwithstanding, he can find an advocate and propitiation in Christ (i. 5–ii. 2).

Communion implies secondly, the keeping of God's commandments, especially that of love. In introducing love as the great commandment, the author asserts that he does not write about a new thing, but one with which they were acquainted from the commencement of their Christian life. Yet it was new in one aspect, not only because it had been revealed by Christ, but because it had a new and quickening power over their life. The paragraph ends with walking in darkness as it had begun with walking in light; the respective characteristics of those who hate and love the brethren (ii. 3–11).

ii. 12–29. In the second division the leading idea is the world, which takes the place of darkness in the preceding part. The Christian has overcome the world. Here the writer addresses his readers directly, in order to quicken and elevate their Christian consciousness. He individualises various classes to give variety and definiteness to his description. Love of the world; false teachers who had not true faith in Christ because they denied the Son and consequently the Father; abiding in Christ, are referred to. The closing exhortation is to abide in the Father and the Son. If the Christian has overcome the world, he must hold fast what he has, by abiding in the Father and the Son.

iii. 1–22. The leading idea of the third part is sonship. Communion with God is a relation of sonship founded in the love of God. How great is the evidence of the divine love towards believers in making them children

of God! The hope of being like God must lead to holiness. Sin is incompatible with Christ's redemption, fellowship with him, and sonship. So far from having any association with God and Christ, it rather belongs to the devil (iii. 1–10). He reminds his readers again of the commandment of love, pointing out the inconsistency of hatred to brethren with eternal life, exhorting them to self-sacrificing love in imitation of Christ, to compassion for distressed brethren, and to the active manifestation of love (iii. 11–18). By the habitual temper of our minds and loving conduct to others we have, says he, a good conscience before God and are sure of being heard in prayer, because we do what is pleasing in His sight, maintain fellowship with Him by faith and love, and possess His Spirit (19–22).

iii. 23–v. 21. Belief or faith is the leading idea of this section. The highest point to which the epistle arrives is belief in the name of the Son. Such faith is accompanied with mutual love and the keeping of God's commandments. Christians are admonished to prove the spirit of the teachers who appeared. And this is the test given—if they acknowledge the manifestation of Jesus Christ in the flesh, they are genuine; such as deny it, belong to antichrist and the world. Love constitutes the essence of God, and he that loves is His child. God's love has been shown in the sending of His Son, and as He loved us we ought to love one another; for by love we have fellowship with Him (iii. 23–iv. 12).

The characteristic mark of communion is the possession of the Christian spirit, which holds fast and confesses that the Father sent the Son as the Saviour of the world; that Jesus is the Son of God; and that God has revealed himself as love (iv. 13–16).

The consummation of love is seen in Christians having confidence at the day of judgment, and no fear before God. Let us therefore, says the author, love Him, and we shall love the brethren also (iv. 17–21).

Whoever believes in Christ is a child of God. Such an one loves his brethren and keeps God's commandments (v. 1–5).

Jesus is certified to be the Son of God by baptism, the Lord's supper, and the Spirit, in the reception or rejection of which testimony belief and unbelief appear (v. 6–10). The essential practical import of this testimony is, that God has given eternal life through Jesus Christ (v. 11–13). He refers as before to confidence in God as the fruit of perfect love, connected with the hearing of prayer and especially of intercessory prayer on behalf of sinning brethren when they do not commit mortal transgression; for a child of God cannot sin, by virtue of his communion with Him and the knowledge of the true God given by the Son. A warning against idolatry concludes the letter (v. 14–21).

From this analysis it will appear that the epistle is ethical, not dogmatic or didactic; mystic and subjective, not speculative. The general tone is calm, subdued, mild, serene. It is not, therefore, surprising that it should be attributed to the aged John in the evening of life. The different parts have a connection, and are not so loose as some have imagined. A general plan and arrangement are perceptible, though it is difficult to exhibit them. No logical method is followed. The language is more that of feeling than of intellect, and therefore rhetorical art is wanting. The critic is puzzled in trying to find the definite sequence of parts, though he is able to trace the general course of thought. The transitions and links of ideas are feebly marked, or left to be understood. A good interpreter will endeavour to get a right view of the leading ideas, especially of the manner in which they rise out of one another. Admitting disjointedness in the materials, he will not tax his ingenuity with finding accurate constructions, order, precision, and completeness. The style is aphoristic in part, but also monotonous.

Very different judgments have been pronounced on the letter, showing how much depends on the subjectivity of critics. Eichhorn speaks of its rhapsodical character; and attributes its want of order to failure of memory on the part of John. Baur speaks of the absence of freshness and colour, its childish and weak repetitions, its want of energy; language that needs to be qualified. On the contrary, Hilgenfeld pronounces it rich and original in what relates to the subjective, intensive life of Christianity; affirming that its fresh, living, attractive character consists in its taking us with such fondness into the inner experience of genuine Christian life; which language also requires correction. We are disposed to take a higher estimate of it than Baur's; a lower than Hilgenfeld's. The epistle has a tender attractiveness. Its sentences are not without power. The author depicts a subjective Christianity with considerable freshness and force. He moves freely in the region of abstract ideas, and exhibits an original mysticism. He has no logical ability, and the circle of his ideas is confined. So also is his vocabulary. He does not enter deeply into the interior life. His thoughts are neither full nor rich, and his language is meagre. Hence his monotony. He repeats himself too much, and weakens the impression of what he writes; a fact which cannot be explained away by the hortatory and tender nature of the epistle, still less by a more Hebraistic form, which does not really belong to it.

More value would be assigned to the work if the fourth gospel were not, consciously or unconsciously, remembered along with it. To be judged impartially, it should be placed apart.

A leading idea appears in the epistle, viz. that the true Christian does not sin, but purifies himself as Christ is pure: 'Whosoever abideth in him *sinneth not*; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him neither known him.' 'Whosoever is born of God *doth not commit sin*;

for his seed remaineth in him; and *he cannot sin* because he is born of God.' These are singular and strong sayings, presenting an ideal Christianity far beyond the bounds of experience, and coming near the Montanistic principle that the whole community of Christians is sinless, pure, and holy. It would be hazardous, however, to assert that traces of Montanism are discoverable in the epistle, either in the distinction between venial and deadly sins, or in the mention of murder and idolatry as two out of the three special mortal sins. The author wrote before Montanism proper appeared. That system arose out of the circle of ideas he represents, being a fourth gospel evolution of Ebionitism. Hence the proximity of some statements to the subsequent Montanism of Tertullian and others. A Christian consciousness is supposed to dwell in the readers of the epistle, by which they know all things; and so the Montanists distinguished themselves as *spiritual*[1] from the *carnal*[2] or ordinary Christians who did not adopt their rigid system of morals.

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries on the epistle are those of De Wette, 1852; Düsterdieck, 1852; Huther, 1855; Lücke, 1856; Neander, 1851; and Ebrard, 1859.

[1] πνευματικοί. [2] ψυχικοί.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

AUTHORSHIP.

THE TRADITION that the second and third epistles commonly ascribed to John were written by the apostle, is ancient.

In the Greek church Clemens Alexandrinus is the first who speaks of a second as well as a first epistle of John. The latter he calls the larger one.[1] Of the second he says, it was written 'to virgins,' and is very simple. It was addressed to one Babylonian named Electa.[2] Eusebius states that Clement explained the catholic epistles in his 'Hypotyposes' or Outlines.[3] If so he adopted the third as well as the second.

Origen mentions the two epistles, and tells us that they were not received by some in his day. He neither gives his own opinion nor quotes from them.[4]

Dionysius of Alexandria admitted them as apostolic productions, which appears from the use he makes of them in arguing that John did not write the Apocalypse: 'Nor yet in the second and third epistles ascribed to John, though they are but short letters, is the name of John prefixed, for without a name he is termed "the elder."'[5]

[1] ἡ μείζων ἐπιστολή.—*Stromata*, lib. ii. p. 464, ed. Potter.

[2] Secunda Joannis epistola, quae ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine.—*Adumbrat.* ed. Potter, p. 1001. The fragment may not be authentic.

[3] Hist. Eccles. vi. 14.

[4] Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25

[5] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται.—Ap. *Euseb. H. E.* vii. 25.

Alexander of Alexandria quotes the second epistle, assigning it to John the apostle: 'For it becomes us as Christians . . . . . not to say to such God speed, lest we be partakers of their sins, as the blessed John directs.'[1]

It is unnecessary to quote Athanasius, Didymus, and others who received the epistles as canonical works of the apostle. The Alexandrian church generally was favourable to their Johannine authorship.

With respect to the Western church, Irenaeus quotes the second epistle, attributing it to 'John the Lord's disciple.'[2]

Neither Tertullian nor Cyprian quotes them. This silence, however, is no proof that they were not recognised in the north African church. Aurelius, bishop of Chollabi, at a synod held at Carthage under Cyprian (A.D. 256), appealed to 2 John 10, as the words of John the apostle.[3]

The Muratorian canon mentions two epistles of John. But the passage is not clear; and the text of it may be corrupt, as is not unfrequently the case.[4] The doubt is whether the two epistles be the second and third, or whether the first be one of the two; though the former is more probable.

In the Syrian church the letters were not received at first, because they are wanting in the Peshito. But Ephrem in the fourth century quotes both, introducing the ninth verse of the second with 'the word of John the divine;' and the fourth verse of the third with 'the

[1] *πρέπει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὡς Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας κατὰ Χριστοῦ . . . μὴ δὲ κἂν χαίρειν τοῖς τοιούτοις λέγειν· ἵνα μήποτε καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ γενώμεθα, ὡς παρήγγειλεν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης, κ.τ.λ.*— Ap. *Socrat. H. E.* lib. i. c. 6.

[2] Adv. Haeres. i. c. 16.

[3] Cypriani Opp. ed. Maran. 1726, p. 337.

[4] Epistula sane Judae et superscripti Johannis duas in catholica habentur.

Scripture says.'[1] Hence it is probable that he referred both to the apostle.

Eusebius puts them among the Antilegomena, perhaps with relation to Origen's reserve and their exclusion from the old Syriac version. What his own opinion was is not clear. In his 'Ecclesiastical History' he speaks doubtfully, in such terms as these, 'whether they were written by the evangelist or by another of the same name;'[2] but in his 'Evangelical Demonstration' he assigns them to the apostle: 'In his epistles, he either makes no mention of himself, or calls himself *elder* merely, nowhere apostle or evangelist.'[3] Here the historian seems to refer to the three epistles, speaking of them as the evangelist's or apostle's. But this affords no certain proof that he was persuaded they were all written by one and the same person. It is a sufficient foundation for the remark that they were generally, or by many, attributed to the apostle. As for himself, he has plainly shown by what he says elsewhere, and by not quoting the last two epistles, that he was not fully satisfied of their being written by the apostle and evangelist.

After Eusebius the letters came to be generally received. They are in the apostolic canons, and in the sixtieth canon of the council at Laodicea. They were also recognised by the council at Hippo, and the third of Carthage.

In the time of Jerome they were commonly put with the other catholic epistles. But there were still doubts of them in the minds of some; 'The other two, whose beginning is *the elder*, are said to have been written by John the presbyter, whose sepulchre is shown at

[1] De Amore Pauperum, vol. iii. p. 52; and Ad Imitat. Proverb. vol. i. p. 76, ed. Ranan. 1732–1746.
[2] H. E. iii. 25.
[3] H. E. iii. 5.

Ephesus till this day.'[1] In another place he speaks of that opinion as 'handed down by most.'[2]

In the school of Antioch they found least favour. Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected them. Theodoret never mentions them; and in the homily on Matth. xxi. 23 ascribed to Chrysostom, but not his, the fathers are said to hold them as uncanonical.[3]

The voice of the Syrian church generally is against their apostolicity.

Thus antiquity is divided respecting them, though the evidence on the whole is in their favour.

As internal evidence for the apostolicity of the epistles, it is alleged that the sentiments and language bear the marks of John the apostle; for which purpose they are compared with the first epistle and fourth gospel. But this reasoning is inconclusive, because John the apostle did not write the latter. To prove their apostolic origin the two epistles should be paralleled with the Apocalypse. The resemblance of the second to the first is so close that eight of the thirteen verses of which the former consists are said to be found in the latter, either in sense or expression.[4] Parallels are abundant, as *to abide in one* (2 John 2, 9);[5] *to have the Father and the Son* (2 John 9);[6] *to see God* (3 John 11);[7] *to be of God* (3 John 11);[8] *joy . . . . . full* (2 John 12);[9] *ye have heard from the beginning* (2 John 6);[10] *this . . . . . that* (2 John 6).[11] The same thing is affirmed and denied at the same place (2 John 9). A more

[1] Reliquae autem duae, quarum principium *senior* . . . . . Joannis presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesios ostenditur.—*De Vir. Illustr.*, c. 9.

[2] Opinio a plerisque tradita.

[3] *τὴν γὰρ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην οἱ πατέρες ἀποκανονίζονται.*—*Opp.* ed. Montfaucon, vol. vi. p. 430.

[4] See Mill's prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament, 153.

[5] *μένειν ἔν τινι.*

[6] *ἔχειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.*

[7] *ὁρᾶν τὸν Θεόν.*

[8] *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι.*

[9] *χαρὰ . . . πεπληρωμένη.*

[10] *ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.*

[11] *αὕτη . . . ἵνα.*

definite explanation is subjoined by opposites, *not* . . . . . *but* (2 John 5, &c.).[1]

Yet there are departures from the phraseology of the first epistle and fourth gospel, such as εἴ τις for ἐάν τις (2 John 10); *to bring doctrine* (2 John 10);[2] *to be partaker of* (2 John 11);[3] *to walk after* (2 John 6);[4] *to do faithfully* (3 John 5).[5] βλέπειν with the reflexive pronoun (2 John 8) is peculiar; so is the verb ἐπιδέχεσθαι (3 John 9, 10). ἀπολαμβάνειν (2 John 8; 3 John 8), and ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί (2 John 7) for ἐληλυθότα ἐν σ., are also foreign to the first epistle. These deviations do not destroy the force of the argument contained in the resemblances. But the similarity of thought and language to the first epistle does not prove identity of authorship. It may show nothing more than imitation on the part of him who wrote the second and third epistles. A writer familiar with the first letter may have echoed its sentiments and expressions.

The author specifies himself, contrary to the usage of John the apostle, as *the elder*. If therefore a person so designated be known in early history, it is natural to fix upon him. John the elder lived at Ephesus, as we learn from Papias, and very near the time of the apostle.

The tenth verse of the second epistle is inconsistent with the character of an apostle: 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed.' This language breathes a different spirit from that of the first epistle. It is the part of Christian love to rebuke the erring not to thrust them away; whereas the common duties of hospitality are here forbidden. Whatever John the apostle may have been once, a Boanerges, fiery and impetuous, the expressions employed in this place are unlike the aged apostle at Ephesus, and are

[1] οὐ . . . ἀλλά. [2] φέρειν τὴν διδαχήν. [3] κοινωνεῖν. [4] περιπατεῖν κατά. [5] πιστὸν ποιεῖν.

unworthy of a true Christian. The obstinate resistance of Diotrephes to the writer's counsels agrees ill with the authority of an apostle like John in his old age. Diotrephes resisted, and prated against him with malicious words. He excluded persons from the church, contrary to the writer's express recommendation. Who he was we cannot tell; but that any ambitious officer or individual belonging to a neighbouring church should have set himself up against the aged John after this fashion, is extremely improbable.

The two epistles, which evidently proceeded from one author, were written by the elder as they profess to be; that is, by John of Ephesus. The opinion that the apostle wrote them was never unanimous in the ancient Church. The two Johns were sometimes confounded, as they have been with respect to the authorship of the epistles. The late reception of the letters was owing to various causes, their brevity, their private and personal character, their doctrinal unimportance, their supposed want of apostolicity as shown by the contents, and the title *elder* at the beginning.

TO WHOM THEY WERE ADDRESSED.

The former is addressed to 'the elect lady and her children.' What is meant by the original of these words? Not that given by our translators, because the Greek would have been different.[1] Not 'to Kyria, the chosen or elect,' because the Greek article would have stood before 'the chosen,'[2] as analogous examples in the thirteenth verse; 3 John 1; Rom. xvi. 5, 8–13, attest. Lücke indeed appeals to 1 Peter i. 1, for a parallel without the article, but the case is different, since the word translated *strangers*[3] there is not a proper name. Not 'to the lady Electa,' because the position of the words

[1] τῇ κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, or τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ. [2] τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ.
[3] παρεπιδήμοις.

would have been different;[1] because it is doubtful if the Greeks used *κύρια* of females along with their names; and chiefly because the thirteenth verse intimates on this principle that the sister's name was also Electa. This last consideration appeared so strong to Grotius, that he conjectured a different reading. The words refer to a particular Christian church, *to the elect church*. Even Jerome referred *κυρία* to the church generally; and though the word occurs nowhere else in this sense, it is natural for the Christian church to be called so, because of its relation to the Lord (*κύριος*). *The children* are the individual members of the church. The contents of the letter agree best with this figurative sense. There is no individual reference to one person; on the contrary, the children 'walk in truth;' mutual love is enjoined; there is an admonition, 'look to yourselves;' and 'the bringing of doctrine' is mentioned. Besides, it is improbable that 'the children of an elect sister' would send a greeting by the writer to an 'elect Kyria and her children.' A sister church might naturally salute another.

The third epistle is addressed to Gaius. Several persons of that name are mentioned in the New Testament, such as Gaius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29); Gaius of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23); and Gaius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4). If he be identical with any of these, which is doubtful, it is with the first. Mill and Whiston identified him with Caius, bishop of Pergamus, on the authority of the Apostolical Constitutions. It is pretty clear that he was a man of distinction in the church, since the writer commends certain strangers to his hospitality. He may have filled an office in the Christian society to which the second epistle was addressed (3 John 9).

[1] *τῇ κυρίᾳ ἐκλεκτῇ*, or *ἐκλεκτῇ τῇ κυρίᾳ*.

OCCASION AND OBJECT.

Nothing is known of the occasion on which the second epistle was written except what can be gathered from itself. The purport of it is to establish the church in Christian truth and love, as well as to warn it against antichristian teachers.

The object of the third is to commend certain brethren and strangers to Gaius, travelling preachers who needed hospitality and help. As the author expected to see Gaius shortly, he writes briefly. Demetrius, named in the twelfth verse, has been thought to be one of the brethren or strangers referred to, perhaps the bearer of the letter. It is unlikely that he held office in the church of which Gaius was a member, because his character would be known too well by the latter to need the author's commendation in that case.

Baur[1] has a peculiar hypothesis respecting the origin of these epistles. There was a division, he supposes, in the church to which Gaius belonged. One party, with Diotrephes at its head, refused communion to the writer; the other party were satisfied with that communion. The cause of such schism is found in the Montanist commotions. The epistles were written to the Montanistic part of the Roman church, Diotrephes being a symbolical appellation for the bishop Soter, Anicetus, or Eleutherus. The passionate zeal of the epistolary author goes so far as to regard the adherents of Diotrephes as heathens (3 John 9). Some one personating the apostolic head of the church in Asia Minor wrote thus against the pretensions of the Roman episcopate. Baur lays great stress on the passage already quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus, which says the epistle was addressed to a certain Babylonian Electa, i.e. the Roman church (Babylon meaning Rome), where the views of

[1] Theolog. Jahrbücher for 1848, p. 328, &c.

the members were divided respecting Montanism; and supposes that the words 'written to virgins,' have respect to the Montanistic view of the Church being Christ's spouse, chaste and holy. Surely this procedure on the part of a Montanist was an unlikely one to accomplish his purpose. Besides, the epistles bear no marks of Montanism. Tertullian himself never refers to or uses them. Like the first epistle, the second alludes to Gnosticism, whose promoters are termed antichrist (2 John 7, &c.). A church not far from Ephesus is a more probable region for the Christian society addressed.

It has been inferred from a word used respecting Diotrephes[1] that John wrote an epistle to the church of which Gaius was a member, which is now lost, '*I wrote* to the church' (3 John 9). This is probable; and perhaps Diotrephes intercepted the letter. To evade the notion of a lost epistle, some translate, 'I would have written,' which is favoured by several MSS. inserting a conditional particle,[2] and by the Vulgate version.[3] The epistle in question cannot have been the first epistle of John now extant, nor that in which the expression itself, 'I wrote,' occurs, because the one contains nothing pertinent to the matter, and the tense of the verb does not suit the other.

TIME AND PLACE.

It is probable that these epistles are later than the first, because the writer uses its ideas and language. They were also nearly contemporaneous, the third following the second as Lücke supposes, since the latter says, 'I trust to come unto you;' the former, 'I trust I shall *shortly* see thee.' The one journey is intended in both.

The place was probably Ephesus, John's abode; the time soon after A.D. 130.

[1] ἔγραψα. [2] ἄν. [3] Scripsissem forsitan.

CONTENTS.

The second epistle, after a salutation in which the writer commends the church and its members, expresses his joy in finding the Christians there living according to the faith of the gospel; exhorts them to mutual love, and warns against false teachers denying the proper humanity of Christ, who ought not to receive the slightest encouragement. The epistle ends with an expression of the author's intention to visit them, and a salutation (1–13).

In the third, after a salutation, and an introduction breathing good wishes, the well-known hospitality of Gaius to travelling Christians is commended; and he is encouraged in the exercise of it towards persons who had recently gone forth to the Gentiles, but wished to depend for support on their Christian brethren. The author then speaks against Diotrephes an opponent of his authority, and recommends Demetrius to the attention of Gaius. In conclusion, a purpose is expressed of visiting his friend soon; and a salutation from the Christian friends associated with him is subjoined (1–14).

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1863; Huther, 1861; Düsterdieck, 1852–1856; Ebrard, 1862; and Lücke, 1856.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

ALLEGED AUTHOR.

THE APOSTLE JOHN has been generally considered the writer of the fourth gospel. He was the son of Zebedee a fisherman probably belonging to Bethsaida, and of Salome, having an older brother James. The parents were in comparatively easy circumstances, as Zebedee is said to have had hired servants, with a boat and nets; Salome also ministered to Jesus of her substance. The son followed the occupation of the father. His call to be a disciple of Christ is related in Matt. iv. 21, &c.; Mark i. 19, &c.; with which the passage in Luke v. 10 seems to be identical. Peter, James, and John were admitted to special intimacy with Jesus; and the last of the three was distinguished by peculiar marks of his Master's affection. The fourth gospel points to him as the *beloved disciple*, or *the disciple whom Jesus loved*. He has been called *one of the breast*,[1] from leaning on the Saviour's bosom at the last supper. John followed his Master into the hall of the high priest, and was present at the crucifixion. After the burial, having been informed by Mary Magdalene that the body had been removed, he hastened to the sepulchre. If credit is to be given to John xxi. 2, 3, &c., he returned to his former occupation. After Pentecost he stood before the Sanhedrim with Peter, boldly confessing the name

[1] ἐπιστήθιος.

of Jesus. These two apostles were afterwards sent to Samaria. John was present at the council of Jerusalem, and was one of the Church's pillars there. The time at which he left the metropolis of Judea cannot be ascertained, but it must have been before A.D. 60. Tradition represents the latter part of his life to have been spent in Asia Minor, a fact resting on the testimony of Irenaeus a disciple of Polycarp who was John's follower. It is the uniform voice of antiquity that he survived all the apostles. Irenaeus says, that he lived till the time of Trajan, who began to reign A.D. 98. It is probable that he died a natural death at Ephesus, for the word *martyr*, which Polycrates applies to him, refers to his banishment not his death. As he is supposed to have lived unmarried, he has received the epithet *virgin*.[1] According to ancient testimony, he was banished to Patmos. But there is much diversity as to the time of the exile and the Roman emperor under whom he suffered. Irenaeus states that it was the emperor Domitian; others, Nero, Trajan, Claudius Caesar. Modern critics have even suspected the truth of the tradition respecting the Patmos-exile; and Eichhorn goes so far as to assert that it is a mere fiction—a local dress which the seer throws round his visions. But though the patristic accounts of the time of the banishment vary considerably; and Origen, together with Eusebius, calls the fact a mere *saying* or *tradition*,[2] we cannot reject it. Nor is it likely that the story was originally derived from the Apocalypse i. 9. Lützelberger and Keim push their scepticism too far in denying John's residence in Asia Minor.

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

The gospel may be divided into two parts, i.–xii. and xiii.–xxi. These again are resolvable into the following

[1] παρθένος, virgo. [2] λόγος, παράδοσις.

sections: chapter i., which is preliminary; ii.–vi.; vii.–x.; xi. xii.; xiii.–xvii.; xviii.–xx. The last chapter is an appendix.

The prologue (i. 1–18) gives the theme of the whole gospel, which is the conflict between light and darkness, exemplified by the Logos as the principle of life and light, and the world's opposition concentrated in the hostile Jewish party. This conflict terminates in the victory of light, as the Son of God came to save the world by attracting all men to himself. The signification of the word Logos, as used by the evangelist, is that of *the Word*.[1] He was a concrete person before the world existed, not becoming so at the incarnation. As reason becomes speech, so when the eternal reason manifests itself, it is as the Logos; not necessarily hypostatic, but such in the gospel. *When* the Word issued from the divine essence, i.e. *was begotten*, whether from eternity or not, the evangelist forbears to say. The commencement, 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' &c., sets forth both the immanent and external existence of the Word as God. This is followed by his demiurgic function 'All things were made' (became) 'by him,' &c. The writer then speaks of his agency in the created universe: 'What was made was life in him, and the life was the light of men.' He is the principle of life in the outer world, and the intellectual principle in man. John came to testify of the Light of the world, who enables men born anew to understand divine things, and became incarnate in the man Jesus. This Word introduced a new dispensation characterised by grace and truth—an absolute religion opposed to Mosaism. The evangelist identifies the Logos with the Son, or in other words, with the historical Christ. Jesus Christ is the divine Logos manifested in the flesh. It is only the fleshly

[1] A personality corresponding to λόγος προφορικός (speech); not to the Platonic *divine reason* (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος).

appearance that makes the Logos the man Jesus; the flesh being the investiture, or vehicle, by which the Logos enters into the relations of earthly existence. The Word *tabernacled* among men. His assumption of our human mode of existence was an episode of his eternal and heavenly existence with God, after which he returned to his proper element or original condition. It is important to observe the terms employed by the writer. 'The Word became *flesh*,'[1] i.e. the Word entered upon an outer existence in the flesh; he did not become man, a new being, a real man. The person of the Logos remained the same after the fleshly appearance. A *new person*, a *real man*, neither originated at that time nor in that act. The gospel, by making the Son of man and the historical Christ identical, leads us to infer that the historical Christ of John has not full humanity. Body, soul, and spirit do not belong to him as to ordinary men; he is a superhuman being, who assumes a veil of flesh for a time, and returns to the original state of oneness with the Father. Such passages as vii. 15; viii. 59; x. 39, especially the first, where the Jews are said to marvel at him as if they did not know him, though they had come in contact with him before in that very place, show no steady material corporeity, but a variable one. Yet it must be allowed, that the incarnate Logos is identified with Jesus of Nazareth who appears and acts in the gospel as he does in the synoptists. His father, mother, and brethren are mentioned repeatedly, indicating that his personality does not consist of the Logos only. The difficulty of reconciling the two aspects cannot be removed, because it is inherent in the nature of the Johannine Christ. If some phases of his person would almost lead to the identification of the Johannine Logos with a Gnostic aeon, others forbid. The gospel hovers on the borders of the Gnostic view, without expressly adopting it.

[1] σὰρξ ἐγένετο, which is not exactly equivalent to ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο.

It is observable that the appellation *the Word* does not occur in the speeches of Jesus himself; but that is no argument against its being synonymous with Christ. Had so speculative a term been put into the mouth of Christ, it would have presented a striking contrast to the synoptic account. The phrase *Son of man*, is the usual one employed by Christ himself, which the evangelist borrowed from the synoptists; and though scarcely appropriate to his person, its adaptation to such passages as v. 30; xi. 41; xii. 27, &c., is apparent; while the words of iii. 13, 'the Son of man who is in heaven,' show a peculiar personality, identifying the pre-existing and post-existing Christ. The Father and the Son are both *God;* but the Father alone is *absolute God*, filling up the whole idea. The Son is *a God*, not God absolutely; and does not exhaust the conception.

The testimony of the Baptist (i. 19–51) consists of three particulars belonging to three successive days, and making up together a complete attestation of the person and work of Jesus. The first occurred before the messengers of the Sanhedrim, showing that the Messiah was already present, though generally unknown, and asserting his absolute pre-existence. The second went farther, stating that Jesus is the Messiah, the Redeemer of the world, through suffering and death. The third showed him as the atoning Lamb to two disciples, who were the means of bringing him into contact with the faith of the world. The world must believe in the Messiah whom the Baptist first attested. After Andrew Simon and John attached themselves to Christ, others became his disciples.

The 2nd chapter gives an account of Jesus's first miracle, which takes place at Cana in Galilee, not Bethany. This opening act of his ministry manifests his glory and dignity. The miracle has a typical or symbolical import, which it is difficult to discover. It is very probable, however, that it is connected with the

superiority of the new religion to the old. The element of the latter was water, ceremonial purity; in the metamorphosis of water into wine, Messianic agency displaces the inferior baptism. After spending a few days at Capernaum, Jesus goes to a passover at Jerusalem, where he purges the temple of buyers and sellers. The scene of his ministry, according to this gospel, is Judea not Galilee; and therefore he appears from the commencement in the prophetic metropolis, the centre of Jewish unbelief, that the object of his manifestation might be put at once in the way of accomplishment. The act of cleansing the temple is transferred from the end to the beginning of Christ's ministry. On the same occasion the evangelist makes him allude to his future death and resurrection.

The 3rd chapter narrates Christ's conversation with Nicodemus a ruler of the Jews, whose faith resting on miracles is not essentially different from unbelief, in the evangelist's view. He is the representative of unbelieving Judaism, even in his faith. The necessity of regeneration is inculcated in the course of the interview. A new birth, a moral change is required of him who would enter into the kingdom of God. Genuine faith rests on the Son of God the Light of the world, not on outward signs; and the true man comes to the light, as his deeds are performed in communion with God (iii. 1–21). The conversation is symbolical of intellectual unbelief. It is succeeded by another testimony on the part of John to Christ, called forth by the latter's baptizing (22–36).

On his way to Galilee through Samaria, Christ meets and talks with a Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, near Sychar. The woman and the narrative are symbolical. She is the representative of heathenism, with its susceptibility of faith in Jesus. Accordingly many Samaritans are said to believe, not merely because of her words but because they heard Christ themselves and knew that

the Saviour of the world appeared before them. The conversion of the heathen generally is shadowed forth by the fields already white to harvest. Nicodemus appears as the representative of Jewish unbelief, or of an external faith based upon outward signs, a mere intellectual belief, which cannot introduce the subject of it into the spiritual kingdom of God. The Samaritans, with their predisposition to salvation, represent a true though imperfect faith. Nicodemus still remains in Judaism; the Samaritans pass over into Christianity. Thus the beautiful narrative symbolises the gospel's passing over to the Gentiles (iv. 1–42), whose spiritual aptitude for salvation, in contrast with the blindness of the Jews, enters into the plan of the gospel.

We have next the second miracle performed by Jesus, the cure of the ruler's son at Capernaum, which we suppose to be identical with that related in Matt. viii. 5, &c.; Luke vii. 1, &c., notwithstanding the divergences observable in the three accounts. Here the peculiarity of the miracle is, that Christ heals the sick person while he is remote, for the one is at Capernaum the other in Galilee, and that by a mere word. The evangelist's object is to show the nature of true faith, viz. that one must believe before seeing a miracle and without one. A miracle is wrought by the simple word of the doer upon an individual at a distance, indicating the necessity of believing the word of the doer that the thing has taken place, i.e. before it is seen. The ruler believes at once. Thus we are taught again, that Christ should be believed *because of his word*, as the Samaritans believed, and not on account of signs and wonders. The faith wrought by the sight of miracles is an external, sensuous thing, which is censured by the Redeemer; whereas the faith that receives his word and all included in it, is commended. The greatness of the miracle in the present instance derives all its significance, in the evangelist's view, from the declaration *thy*

son liveth, which the nobleman accepted at once, without ocular demonstration of the fulfilment (iv. 43–54).

The 5th chapter relates the cure of a sick man at the pool of Bethesda, and the words of Jesus suggested by it. The Jews found fault with a deed performed on the sabbath-day. Here that practical unbelief which does not see divine works in the miracles of Christ, but denies their divine character altogether, is set forth. God never rests, continuing his agency unceasingly; so does the Son; and miracles are but acts of that ever-working power. The Jews, in disbelieving the Son, showed unbelief in the Father also, and evinced their total incapacity to apprehend 'divine revelation,' by their anxiety for human applause. Their practical unbelief culminated in their seeking to kill Jesus for works in which God himself testified to the character of the person by whom they were wrought, as well as to their godlike nature. Thus the Word is presented in conflict with Jewish unbelief.

The 6th chapter commences with an account of Jesus miraculously feeding five thousand, followed by his walking on the sea of Galilee. The former serves merely to introduce the discourse that took place in the synagogue at Capernaum. Here the idea of the Logos as the absolute principle of life is unfolded in the Messianic agency of Jesus. All spiritual life is nourished and maintained by him. He is the bread of life, the heavenly manna that came down from heaven to give life to men. As bread must be eaten to support physical life, so the incarnate Word must be received into the spirit, and coalesce with it in substantial unity. True faith is set forth in the sensuous form of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of God; unbelief is represented by materialistic eating and drinking, apart from every spiritual ingredient.

The 7th chapter is the commencement of a new section, which ends with the 10th. The combat of Jesus with

the unbelief of the world proceeds in different stages; the Jews being the representatives of that unbelief. He goes up to the feast of tabernacles, appears in the temple, teaches there, justifies acts of healing on the sabbath, and meets the doubts entertained by the people of his Messianic dignity. The Pharisees are angry that their officers did not apprehend him, and reprove Nicodemus for taking his part. It has been well observed by Baur, that the chapter contains three different acts of Jesus's self-development. In the first, he appears in secret; in the second, he speaks openly, declaring that the Jews knew him and whence he came; in the third, he says that the Messianic Spirit dwelt in him absolutely, and that streams of living water flowed from those who believed in his name. Thus the divine greatness of Jesus is inculcated. In opposition to such irresistible evidence of his character, the logic of unbelief can only present the nugatory argument that he could not be the Messiah because he was of Galilee, whereas the Messiah must be of David's seed, and of David's town Bethlehem.

The story of the woman taken in adultery with which the 8th chapter begins, may or may not be historical. But the leading idea of it is in harmony with the surrounding context. The more one is conscious of his sins and recognises the need of forgiveness, the more disposed is he to admit that others also require forgiveness, and will therefore hesitate to become their accuser. In this manner Jesus meets the charge of the Pharisees against him, that he associated with publicans and sinners (viii. 1–11). Succeeding discourses of Christ in conflict with Jewish unbelief present him as the Light of the world, who came forth from the Father and returns to him—a testimony about himself which is valid even according to the Mosaic law, because it is borne by two witnesses. But how can those accept the testimony of the Father who do not know Him? And such as know not God

are not *His* children, but the children of the devil. The unbelieving Jews are therefore children of the father of lies. They call Abraham their father; a vain assumption, because one who rejoiced in the day of Jesus's Messianic manifestation, cannot acknowledge them as his children (12–59).

The 9th chapter gives an account of a blind man restored to sight, a miracle in which the Word appears as the principle of light, showing forth his light-giving, as he had already shown his life-giving, power in restoring the ruler's son to health. Jewish unbelief presents itself in opposition to this miracle by fixing on the mere external circumstance that the sabbath was profaned. The last three verses of the chapter give the scope of the narrative. When Jesus, as the Light of the world, reveals the works of God, the blind see, and the seeing become blind. In other words, those who wish to see the divinity of Jesus will acknowledge it; such as do not wish, are given over to blindness. Unbelief, which is the blindness of seeing, is self-judged.

The 10th chapter carries on the leading idea of the 9th, viz. that Jesus is the Light of the world; so that the persons who follow him walk securely. As leader of the faithful, he is like a good shepherd, standing in intimate relation to his sheep and even laying down his life for them, if necessary. The Pharisees, on the contrary, the heads of the Jewish people, are hireling shepherds, thieves and robbers who forsake the flock in times of danger (1–21). After this, Jesus appears at the feast of dedication in the temple, where the Jews crowd about him, earnestly seeking a plain declaration as to his personality. Here he states his oneness with the Father, at which they are greatly incensed. If they would not believe his word, he refers them to his works, whose divine character is so apparent as to make their unbelief inexcusable. This closes his dialectic combat with the Jews; for it is said that he went

away to the place beyond Jordan where John baptized at first, and abode there (22–42).

The 11th chapter narrates the raising of Lazarus from the grave, a miracle the most stupendous of the series described in the gospel. Jesus had already shown his divine glory by what he did—he had already worked the works of God in curing the nobleman's son at a distance, and healing one born blind—he had manifested the rays of that glory which streamed forth from his person in acts of divine power—he had reduced unbelief to its proper root, perversity of will; now he exhibits the culminating act of his divinity by raising the dead. This miracle is the crisis of his earthly course, being the immediate occasion of that catastrophe which terminated in his death. Like his other miracles, it is typical. A leading idea lies at the basis, shaping its form and circumstances; which can be no other than the great sentiment expressed in the twenty-fifth verse: 'I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live.' The whole is symbolical of that consciousness of an undying life which true faith calls into lively exercise. It is also likely that the resurrection of Lazarus was intended to foreshadow Jesus's own resurrection. This final and greatest manifestation of the Messiah's glory led directly to the practical result in which unbelieving opposition to his person reached its consummation—his crucifixion. Caiaphas the high priest represents the final stage of that unbelief, when he said that it was better that Jesus should be put to death, whether he were guilty or not, than that the whole nation should be destroyed through the displeasure of the Romans.

It has been thought strange, that this miracle, the greatest of all, in itself and its consequences, should be unnoticed by the synoptists. Had they known it, it is difficult to account for their silence; and had it been a historical fact, or even a mythical part of theevangeli-

cal tradition, it is as difficult to account for their ignorance. Three circumstances have been singled out to indicate its unhistorical character: the prayer of Jesus, which is a mere accommodation one, offered up for the sake of others (verse 42); the tears shed for the dead, amid the conscious certainty of his immediate re-animation (35); and the statement that the sickness was not unto death (4), but for the revelation of the divine glory. Perhaps these particulars are capable of an explanation consistent with the reality of the facts described. Some will think that the solution of the main difficulty is bound up with the credibility of miracles generally. Some urge this argument, 'At least, as much and as good evidence must be brought before we can accept a miracle, as is demanded for the acceptance of an ordinary fact: but the gospels contradict themselves or each other on very ordinary matters: hence their testimony is excluded for things extraordinary.'

The next chapter relates the anointing of Jesus at Bethany prior to his solemn entry into Jerusalem, with the triumphal entrance itself (1–19). Some Greeks visit the metropolis, desirous to see him. It is not stated, however, whether they obtained their request; nor are the circumstances of the interview specified. Indeed the three verses (xii. 20–22) stand isolated, having little relation to what follows or precedes. Hence the word *them* of the twenty-third verse is vaguely used. He speaks of his death and glorification, requires the steadfast adherence of his followers, and is above the fear of death. The mention of Gentiles points to the fact that the Church of the faithful was to proceed from believing heathenism, of which these stranger Greeks are the representatives. The result of the evangelical history is then summed up in the statement, that though Jesus had done so many miracles before the Jews they did not believe. Yet their unbelief does not detract from his divine agency. He is still the Light of the

world, in and by whom the Father works—the medium of every communication between God and man (xii.).

The next section embraces chapters xiii.–xvi., and contains Jesus's discourses to his disciples. His dialectic conflict with the Jews is finished; the only result of it being their determined unbelief. Must the world then continue to oppose the Redeemer? Is it to remain unbelieving, and so far to frustrate his work? That must not be. The disciples are the instruments of the world's conversion. Through them mankind are to be conducted from unbelief to faith. Here therefore they come into significance, as an element in developing the Messianic agency. And first of all they themselves must be tried and purified. They are to be elevated to a full consciousness of their union with the Word, so that they may stand in the same relation to him as he does to the Father.

The 13th chapter begins with an account of Jesus washing the disciples' feet, by which he teaches them humility and charity. He then indicates his betrayal by Judas, his death, and Peter's denial. In the 14th he comforts them with the hope of reunion with himself in the immediate presence of God, assuring them that they should not be left orphans in the mean time, but have the indwelling presence of the Holy Ghost, and be led into all truth. The 15th chapter continues the series of discourses, by setting forth the union between Christ and his disciples under the similitude of a vine and its branches, and exhorting them to be steadfast in love to him though they should be hated and persecuted by an unbelieving world; for the Holy Ghost would unite with them in testifying of the glorified Messiah. The subject of the 16th is substantially the same as that of the preceding. It contains a more definite prediction of future persecutions, and a description of the agency of the Holy Spirit both in relation to the unbelieving world and the disciples. Announcing

his death, he tells them that they should see him again, and have their sorrow turned into joy. The disciples profess their conviction of his divine origin and mission. With the prediction of their forsaking him in the hour of danger, he expresses his confidence in God, and a consciousness of victory.

The 17th chapter, containing the final prayer of Jesus, expresses the sublimest and purest utterances of a spirit in intimate union with God. The consciousness of the divine in the man Jesus is reflected here in a very high form. The prayer sets forth the glorification of the Son in consequence of the completion of his work, and an intercession with the Father for the disciples, that they may be kept in the faith. Nor is it limited to the few followers then present. It is extended to all believers, that they may be taken into union with the Father and Christ.

The leading idea of the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th chapters, is the glorification of the Son by the Father, and the consequent glorification of the Father by the Son. The glorification of the Son by the Father consists in constituting him the giver of everlasting life to humanity; and the glorification of the Father by the Son is the impartment of that life to mankind. The object for which Jesus was sent into the world is accomplished when a true consciousness of the divine is communicated to humanity; when men are brought to feel that there is within them a divine principle or spirit that unites them to God.

The last three chapters (xviii. xix. xx.) treat of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus, in which the external course of the Son's glorification is depicted. The 18th begins with his capture in Gethsemane, after which comes his accusation before the high priest, Peter's denial, and Jesus's trial before the Roman procurator, who wishes to set him free but has not the courage to risk the Jews' displeasure. Accordingly

having scourged, he commanded him to be delivered up, with the design of obviating further proceedings against the accused, and hoping that the Jews would be satisfied with the lesser punishment. They persisted however in their demand for his crucifixion; and prevailed over the timid but well-meaning Pilate (xviii. xix. 1–16). According to Luke, Pilate's proposal to scourge Jesus by way of compromise, was not carried into effect, because the Jews insisted on crucifixion; but the fourth evangelist, who takes a more favourable view of heathens than the synoptists, and therefore places the Roman procurator in a better light, represents the scourging as actually happening.

The scourging in Matt. xxvii. 26, is different, since it came after the judicial sentence, according to the legal course. It was unusual to scourge a criminal before he was condemned to death. The crucifixion itself, its attendant circumstances, the taking of the body from the cross and its interment, are next related (xix. 17–42). The piercing of Jesus's side, the issuing from it of water and blood, the fulfilment of old Testament predictions, and especially the exclamation 'it is finished,' belong to the main scope of the work, showing its tendency very clearly. Graphic circumstances as they are, the emphasis attached to them is characteristic of the writer's design rather than of his presence as a spectator.

The last chapter of the gospel (xx.) contains an account of the resurrection. Two apostles find the grave empty; and Jesus appears first to Mary, to whom he said, 'Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father, but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.' He would not be delayed in the act of his ascension, which the evangelist conceives of as following immediately upon the resurrection. No interval of forty days is thought of between the two events.

Both are parts of one act.[1] The disciples, therefore, receive the Holy Ghost on the day of the resurrection, according to promise. But a second appearance of the Lord to Thomas is related. Why is this? To show that the faith which rests on the outward is only a step to that higher and purer faith which believes without seeing. Thomas's scepticism is overcome and he attains to faith—but, blessed are they who believe without tangible evidence.

The nature of the body which the narrator assigns to the risen Jesus, and his conceptions of the resurrection and ascension generally, are difficult points of inquiry. The evangelist's general christology leads to a docetic view of the risen body. The Word assumed a light immaterial envelope, which he laid aside when he returned to the bosom of the Father. He did not appear in a gross, material form, but in a state not subject to the usual conditions of matter, though visible. In fact, the risen one was no longer an inhabitant of earth. Floating about as a being already glorified, he appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the ten disciples, to Thomas, and then ascended to God. The representation given by Luke, that after the resurrection he ate and drank with the apostles (Acts x. 41), and showed himself to them with a body of flesh and bones (Luke xxiv. 39, 40), is inconsistent with our gospel. His bodily resurrection is not intimated in the present document. *He appeared* to the disciples and Thomas, that they might believe; but the appearances were not those of an earthly body reanimated. It should be observed, that Thomas, like the rest, was satisfied, *not because he touched him*, which he abstained from as unnecessary, but because he saw him. The description is inconsistent with itself; for how could a pneumatic body have clothes like a gardener's, or show the print of nails in the hands

[1] The present tense *ἀναβαίνω* is significant.

and the mark of a wound in the side? It is therefore unhistorical.

The subject of the resurrection must be looked at from the stand-point of the evangelist's time, not from ours. Should we view it as they did, the narratives must be taken in their plain and literal sense. But if philosophy and science suggest the rejection of oriental conceptions, the growth of ideas from small beginnings and the transforming power of tradition, the resurrection will present a different aspect. No hypothesis like that of Schleiermacher can be accepted. A temporary suspension of animation, or any expedient which denies actual death, is arbitrary assumption.[1]

The 21st chapter, which is a later appendix, describes another appearance of Jesus, a miraculous draught of fishes, the meal he partook of with the disciples, and the conversation with Peter, who is rebuked for his curiosity respecting John. The import and tone of this addition are out of harmony with the character of the gospel, and of the 20th chapter in particular. Instead of the Word hastening to ascend to heaven, we have here a material delay on earth. The paragraph re-opens a gospel which had concluded with the thirtieth and thirty-first verses of the 20th chapter; and resembles the synoptic method rather than that of the fourth gospel. That it is inconsistent with what is implied in the words of Christ to Mary Magdalene, is obvious.

LEADING CHARACTERISTICS.

(*a*). The teaching of the gospel was influenced by the existing philosophy of the day. The Jews residing in Alexandria had their gnosis or religious philosophy, a

[1] See the English Life of Jesus, part vi. sections 7 and 8.

product of Jewish ideas united with the speculative philosophies of the Greeks, especially that of Plato. Of such Jewish-Alexandrine gnosis Philo is the best representative, and his views throw light on the fourth gospel. We cannot indeed show that the evangelist was acquainted with his writings, or that he derived his leading ideas from him directly; but it is pretty clear that the modes of thought as well as the very expressions which characterise the Philonian writings, had an important bearing on the conceptions of the writer. If they did not create, they at least extended, his intellectual atmosphere. The general thinking of the age in which he lived was moulded by Philo. In the Alexandrian philosophy, the term Logos is an important one; but it is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning attached to it by Philo; for while in some parts of his works the Logos appears as a faculty or attribute—God in the aspect of his activity—it is spoken of in others as an hypostasis or person. The Alexandrian theologian presents an idea of the Logos hovering ambiguously between the personal and impersonal, between an independent being with God and God's eternal thought or wisdom; but with a decided inclination to the former, which Dorner's one-sided representation, with all its antagonism to Gfroerer, cannot efface. The Logos-conception was necessary to his philosophy, because the Supreme God cannot enter into direct personal relation with the finite. God as an *actual* Being, in distinction from what He is in himself *absolutely*, requires the Logos-idea. There is certainly more in Philo to countenance the opinion that he thought of the Logos as a being distinct from God than otherwise. The significance of the whole idea rests essentially on that view. The Logos is the mediator, the instrument, by whom God formed the world. He is neither unbegotten like God, nor begotten after the manner of men. He is the image and

shadow of God, a second God.[1] He is the representative and ambassador of God, the interpreter of his will, the angel or archangel who is the medium of the revelations and operations of God, the high priest who introduces supplications, his firstborn. Here the path is opened to a distinction in the Deity, whatever may be thought of Philo's inconsistency. Though his Logos-doctrine be indefinite, its prominence and necessity are apparent. God manifests Himself only through the Logos. The theory of the Logos, according to the fourth gospel, is in harmony with the Philonian. He was *in the beginning*, or before the visible world existed, being already with God. He was the only-begotten of the Father, the perfect expression of the essence of God, the Son of God in a peculiar sense. The world[2] originated by him. It is not said that he *created* it, but the same verb[3] is used by the evangelist and Philo, implying that the Logos gave matter the form it has in the visible world. Matter became the Kosmos by means of the Logos. The fourth gospel, however, has an important advance upon Philo's doctrine, when it announces the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus. In this respect the author expresses an idea foreign to the Alexandrian philosophy. Though the Logos is almost, if not altogether hypostatised in Philo, his incarnation is alien to that writer's conceptions. The Word, the Son of God, was manifested personally in the flesh. Whence this element was derived, we cannot tell. Did it exist before it was incorporated in the gospel? Was it the result of philosophical reflection subsequent to Philo? Did Hellenic culture excogitate it? Or did the writer himself educe it from the depths of his consciousness? These are questions we cannot answer, and therefore an important link between Philonism and the Logos-theory of the fourth gospel is

[1] Θεός is applied to him without the article. [2] κόσμος.
[3] γίνομαι.

missing. Up to a certain point it is easy to bring the Logos-doctrine of John into harmony with the philosophical ideas of Philo—a harmony that cannot have been accidental because it includes *terms* as well as thoughts; when it is announced that *the Logos became flesh*, the coincidence ceases. Jewish-Alexandrian theosophy had penetrated into Asia Minor, where it came in contact with a Hellenic culture somewhat different perhaps from that with which it amalgamated in Egypt; whether the effect of its modification there was to evolve the new conception, we are unable to show. Perhaps the Pauline epistles, especially that to the Colossians, contributed to it along with Gnostic speculations which threatened to subvert Christianity unless confronted by a doctrine conserving the human as well as the divine in the person of the founder. The pre-existence of Christ is plainly taught in Paul's epistles. The epistle to the Hebrews also, which bears upon its face an Alexandrine stamp, may have helped the unknown author to the idea of the Logos-incarnation in the man Jesus. With Philo's almost hypostatising of the Logos, the Pauline pre-existence of Christ, the Son's designation in the epistle to the Hebrews as the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his essence, and the masculine gender of the term Logos itself, the way was open to the doctrine of the incarnation.

Considerable pains have been taken by Tholuck and others to show that the Logos-doctrine of the fourth gospel is Palestinian not Alexandrian. For this purpose the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs and of the apocryphal works Sirach and Wisdom, is appealed to. An attribute of God personified is all we find there. There is no hypostasis or person. More to the purpose is the *Memra* of the Targums, the Word of God, which is used in a personal sense. But the doctrine of the Memra in the Chaldee paraphrases is later than the Logos-doctrine of Alexandria, and probably originated

through its influence. The oldest of the Targums cannot be dated in the first century nor even in the second, in its present state. Besides, it is not improbable that Alexandrian gnosis influenced and affected the Palestinian theology, as Gfrörer has shown.[1] If it did not, none can deny that it was diffused in Asia Minor at the close of the first century.

The conception of the Logos, who is the Son of God in a special and metaphysical sense, forms the key-note of the gospel. The prologue propounds it as the starting-point; and though the word does not occur again, the idea pervades the remaining portion. The particulars it includes are unfolded in discourses and events, which are selected to show the Word in his personal relations to the world. The exclusion of many things found in the synoptists—the manner in which the life of Jesus is presented—what he says and what he does not say—are regulated by this fundamental idea and logically derived from it. The connection of every part with the sentiments of the prologue may be perceived, according as the metaphysical idealism is carried out in detail. The gospel is speculative, simply because it develops the conceptions enunciated at the outset. None is so ideal and spiritual because it speaks of the agency of the Word in the created universe through his incarnation in the man Jesus.

In conformity with the doctrine of the incarnate Logos everything is avoided in the gospel that would favour the idea of Christ's development in knowledge and virtue. He is perfect at first, and all that implies growth is carefully kept out of sight. The traditions that represent him as a descendant of David, the genealogies in Matthew, his birth at Bethlehem, the adoration of the infant by the eastern magi as King of the Jews, and the miraculous conception, are absent.

[1] Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie, zweiter Theil. 1831.

The fact that Jesus was baptized by John his inferior, is also omitted. The incarnate Word cannot be exposed to the temptations recorded in the synoptists; nor does he need a heavenly voice to attest his Sonship. His knowledge is all-embracing. He reads the hearts of men, and knows the future. He requires no message to inform him that Lazarus is ill; and can announce his death to the disciples. The entire account of his passion is also adapted to show that the Word made flesh was the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world. The prince of this world has no hold upon him. He does not pray, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,' but, 'The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' nor would he say, 'Father, save me from this hour,' since he had come for that hour. He knows the traitor from the beginning, and proceeds to the place where Judas is about to come, to show his obedience to the Father. His enemies fall to the ground when he says, 'I am he;' and he dies uttering the triumphant cry, 'It is finished.' He does not partake of the paschal supper, because he was himself the true passover; not a bone of him is broken; and from his pierced side flow water and blood, the things that purify and quicken. Before Pilate, the synoptical King of the Jews is transformed into a sovereign, whose kingdom is truth. Simon of Cyrene does not appear, because the idea of exhaustion or faintness would be derogatory. 'Eli, Eli, lama Sabacthani,' is also eliminated from the gospel. No external prodigy enhances the grandeur of his death. No earthquake, no rending of rocks or of the temple-vail appears. His body is laid in the tomb by two men of distinction, and embalmed at great cost, contrary to the synoptical account. After his resurrection, he presents himself without previous notice to Mary Magdalene, and then to the ten. Angels do not announce him to the disciples. And it is necessary that one of the eleven should

be absent, to become the type of a feeble and sensuous faith.

In harmony with this characteristic, the evangelist does not narrate the institution of the Lord's supper, because he is more concerned with ideas than formal acts. To express its symbolical meaning, he had already used the phrases 'eating the flesh,' and 'drinking the blood' of Christ, in the 6th chapter. By sacrificing his body, Jesus communicated spiritual life to his disciples. The essence of the supper, communion with Christ, having been already inculcated, the writer, consistently with his doctrinal stand-point, omits the historical institution of a thing intended to present the same idea. Mr. Tayler, supposing that the 6th chapter contains the doctrine of the Lord's supper as it existed in its advanced state of development in the middle of the second century, converts it into an argument for the late origin of the gospel.[1]

These observations show that the gospel was not meant for history. It was composed in another interest than the historical, as is evident from the doctrinal statement at the beginning, which is the theme of the whole. Speculative considerations are paramount. There is no human development, no growth of incidents or course of life. The transactions are in the realm of thought. The Word enshrined in his earthly tabernacle flashes out splendour on the people, indicating the eternal and all-embracing light which is to purify the world.

Yet the work cannot be called a poem, specifically an epic, because it is too metaphysical and doctrinal. It is Gnostic, connected with the inner spiritual life. The essence of Christianity is placed in living union with the divine person whose wondrous nature is exhibited. It is not a biography or book of instruction. Though it stirs the emotional part of our nature and nurtures aspi-

[1] An Attempt to ascertain the character of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 95, 96.

rations allied to the Infinite, it is not so much poetical as speculative and spiritual; a Gnostic gospel, in which Alexandrian philosophy and Hellenic culture combine to set forth Christ Jesus in his mysterious relation to the Father and to believers—in the spiritual influence of his teachings, and their adaptation to raise humanity to its highest ideal.

In accordance with all that has been stated is the character of the miracles in the gospel, which bear the stamp of the extraordinary. The impotent man had been thirty years in that state; the blind man had been so born; and Lazarus had been dead four days, so that his body had become putrid. The nobleman's son is healed at a distance. The incarnate Word also shows his omnipotence in changing water into wine. He walks on the sea of Galilee, and is not taken into the boat as the synoptists represent him to be. His glory is always being manifested, nor does he cease to be a visible image of the Father. He does not empty or humble himself by a voluntary demission of his glory, but reveals the fulness of his perfection, even in the flesh. This differs from Paul's representation. That it is very unlike the synoptists is obvious, since they plainly imply development; though it is impossible to trace that development step by step, as Schenkel has tried to do. Jesus himself, in Mark, admits his ignorance on one subject, the day and hour of the destruction of Jerusalem; and Luke says that he 'increased in knowledge.' But when did Jesus first attain to a definite idea of the universality of his kingdom? He appeared as the Jewish Messiah immediately after his contact with, and baptism by, John. The gospel records, with their vague chronology, are silent about the development. The modes and time of his mental transition from Jewish particularism to a universalist view cannot be fixed. The conduct of the Jews, and especially the faith of the Syrophenician woman, seem to have developed the idea that

the Gentiles as well as the Jews should be included in his kingdom. This is substantially the view of Schenkel and Keim,[1] which is more natural than Albaric's, who puts the real history of his development prior to his public ministry, as soon as he had an ideal conception of the Messianic kingdom, explaining the later appearance of his universalism by the supposition that he confined his ministry to Israel for a while, from wise reasons connected with time and space.[2] In like manner, the belief that he must die did not enter into the original plan of his mission; for even on the evening of his betrayal he had not wholly abandoned the idea that the cup might pass from him. A suffering Messiah was a posterior phase of the original Messiah-conception; just as the universality of his kingdom was a later phase of belief. So too *sonship*, as an element of Messiahship, grew and deepened with time. This human development of Jesus—the evolution of his self-consciousness—has been overshadowed for ages by his divine life; and men have admired the latter as they ought to do and as the fourth gospel teaches; but the historian cannot be insensible to that aspect of his person which brings him nearer ourselves, and makes him the object of universal faith. If the Alexandrian philosophy of the fourth gospel has presented an ideal rather than a historical Christ, the fact must be looked at in all its bearings.

(*b*). The fourth gospel presents an original dualism which accords with Alexandrian speculation. Instead of saying that God *created* the world, as the synoptists do, a kingdom of darkness exists from the beginning, under the dominion of the prince of this world. This being is hostile to God; he is the devil, Satan, the wicked one. Because of his essential opposition to God, he is connected with matter. There are two classes of

[1] Der geschichtliche Christus, p. 51, etc., 3rd ed.
[2] Revue de Théologie, 1865, pp. 148, 149.

men, the children of God, and the children of the devil. The latter are inspired by Satan, as was Cain and Judas. The Jews are also his slaves. It is for this reason that Jesus does not pray for the world, which is incapable of conversion, but for his disciples; and that the Son does not quicken all men, but those whom he wills, such as are able to hear his word. The Jews could not hear his word, because they were children of the devil (viii. 43, 44). Darkness is opposed to light. It is a positive element contrary to light, or in other words to the Logos, the medium of the world's organisation. All sin is the work of the devil; it is a principle directly hostile to the Being who is essentially good. God, who is light and love, has nothing but a holy aversion to it, and does not use it in the execution of his purposes. When the gospel states that the union of Christ and his disciples will bring about the result of the world's *believing* that God sent his Son (xvii. 21), it is not true faith which is referred to, but the conviction produced by irresistible evidence, an involuntary homage rendered to the force of proof. Not till the prince of the world is expelled from his kingdom, as the result of Christ's death, shall all men be drawn into faith and fellowship with the Word.

The contrasts in the gospel are striking. Light and darkness, God and the world, heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, life and death, truth and error, love and hatred, the eternal and transitory, Christ and the world, Christ and the devil, the Church and the world, the children of the world and the children of the devil, present Christianity attaining to victory through contest.

(*c*). The mode in which the Jews are depicted is in harmony with the purpose of the gospel. Their character presents no development. They resist heavenly truth, are children of darkness and of the devil, and must therefore perish in their blindness. Jesus speaks of *your* law in addressing them, as if he had nothing

to do with it. Hence the persons with whom Jesus converses are stupid and carnal in their conceptions. Even Nicodemus is grossly ignorant. It is only the children of light who perceive the truth which the incarnate Logos communicates. The common people, whose eyes are covered with the thick film of ignorance, seek him simply because he multiplies bread and satisfies their appetite, not because he himself is the bread of life; and the chief priests are especially hardened. 'The Jews' murmured at Jesus's saying that he was the bread that came down from heaven, because they knew he was Joseph's son. They misunderstood him so much when he told them that they could not come whither he went, that they supposed he was going to commit self-murder; a sin abhorred by the nation. They are also represented as saying in mockery, 'Will he go to the dispersed among the Gentiles, and teach the Gentiles?' because they did not know the meaning of his language, that they would seek and not find him after he had gone away. The same stupidity is observable in the people, when they heard about a man keeping his sayings and never seeing death; and about his seeing Abraham, though he was still under fifty years of age. The evangelist goes so far as to state that they *could not* believe on Jesus, because God had blinded their eyes and hardened their heart (xii. 39, 40); and the same idea is repeated in v. 44; viii. 43, representing in the very strongest manner their hardness of heart—their almost physical inability to apprehend the truth. This type of Jewish unbelief is uniform throughout the gospel. Announced as it is at the commencement, it remains the same. 'The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.' 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not.' There is no progress in the evangelical history. The opposition of Jesus's enemies, the storm destined to burst on his head, recedes or abates, only to assume increased furv. The

final catastrophe does not come after gradual preparation or successive steps announcing its approach; it is seen at first. The synoptists, especially Matthew, present a marked contrast. In the fourth gospel, the Jewish people are children of darkness all along, blind to the Light of the world who came down from heaven. Surely this implies that the writer was outside the Jewish nation, or completely alienated from that narrow-minded people. He could scarcely have been the apostle John; for though it be granted that he had lived on Gentile ground for thirty years after the Jewish polity had ended, the heart of the apostle could not have forgotten his fellow-countrymen, or ceased to commiserate their fate. Though they had crucified the Saviour and opposed his disciples, John must have retained some sympathy for them, and have depicted their unbelief in colours less darkly uniform. The Apocalypse at least shows that he was far from insensible to the ties of race and blood.

The force of this argument is untouched by saying, that John, writing at the end of the first century, regards the nation after its final apostasy, the distinctions of party being lost in their common unbelief; because the epithet 'the Jews' occurs in the words of Christ himself (xiii. 33). Did John put his own phraseology here into the mouth of the speaker? The impugners of the argument cannot say so, unless they abandon plenary inspiration. If they do not believe that the evangelist himself put the epithet into the mouth of Christ, the validity of the argument remains.

(*d*). Another characteristic of the gospel is, that Jesus seldom speaks in parables and gnomes, but commonly in longer speeches, the parts of which are loosely connected and have repetitions. Though the character of the discourses is varied; the words of the Baptist, for example, bearing a different stamp from that of the colloquy with Nicodemus, which differs again from the

conversation with the woman of Samaria; the exposition of the Logos-idea runs through them all. Luthardt himself admits, that the language of Jesus and the evangelist can hardly be separated; he might equally allow that the theology of the latter runs through the discourses of Jesus, as is exemplified in the 17th chapter, notably in the third verse, where the words '*Jesus Christ*, whom thou hast sent,' are unsuitable in the lips of Jesus himself. The proper name *Jesus Christ*, is foreign to his time, and even to the early apostolic era. It appears for the first time in Paul (Rom. i. 1). The parable was adopted, as an easy method of conveying instruction to minds spiritually dull. Though it was employed with relation to the people generally not the disciples, we know that the latter themselves were slow to understand it. Yet in the fourth gospel the high mysteries of the union between the Father and the Son, as well as the union of believers with both, are freely handled. The region of spirit is entered; and marvellous are the revealings of Christ's essential nature. The pavilion of the uncreated glory is looked into; and the secret relations of Father, Son, and Spirit expressed with a shadowy dimness befitting the subject. Theosophic mysticism appears. That objective teaching which charms the reader of the synoptists, and bespeaks the Galilean teacher by its simple purity, is absent. Abstract spirituality of conception and language labours to set forth profound relations in the region of the divine.

(*e*). There is a symbolism showing the same philosophical tendency as that of Philo, in virtue of which the author inclines to look at facts as the representatives of ideas; to make little account of the real and visible in comparison with the thoughts it reflects. The material is subordinated to a higher reality of which it is merely the sign. History is viewed in a superior light, being valued only in proportion as it is the

emblem of spiritual truth. The writer is an idealist or *pneumatic* man, penetrating the thick veil of material appearances, and seizing the truth they embody. Historical facts are selected and viewed with a symbolical purpose. This tendency is exemplified in fixing the death of Jesus on the day in which the Jews ate the passover, instead of the day after. He himself was the true paschal lamb, of which the other was the type. Type and antitype must coincide. In like manner, the Roman soldiers did not break the legs of Jesus, as they did those of the two malefactors, that the Scripture might be fulfilled which says, a bone of the paschal lamb shall not be broken. And why is it stated, that when one of the soldiers pierced his side water and blood came forth? Is it not to show the spiritual influences flowing from his person; the cleansing power which he exerts on believers? Such is the hidden truth imaged forth by the material fact, and giving it all its importance. Another example appears in the spiritualising of the manna in the 6th chapter, where the evangelist somewhat incongruously puts the words, 'I am the bread of life' into the mouth of Jesus himself. In like manner the 'living water' spoken of in the conversation with the woman of Samaria, is the main idea for which the drawing of water at Jacob's well is adduced. At the spot where Judah and Ephraim once gave drink to their flocks in brotherly friendship, the union of a separated Church, consisting of Jews and Gentiles, is shadowed forth—a Church drinking from the fountain of a new life.

The act of washing the disciples' feet, with which the history of Christ's passion opens, is also symbolical. It is the last evidence of his love to the disciples, the concluding act of their purification. The whole character of the episode is allegorical.

The miracles peculiar to the gospel were also meant to shadow forth ideas in harmony with the Logos-theory

of the writer. The raising of Lazarus shows that the Word is the resurrection and the life spiritually; that he communicates such life to believers. The cure of the man born blind serves to point out Christ as the Light of the world. He gives sight to the spiritually blind. The change of water into wine at the commencement of Christ's ministry represents the new and spiritual religion taking the place of the old Jewish one. When water failed, when the inspiration of Moses and the prophets had become ineffectual, a higher must take its place to satisfy and nourish the soul. The miraculous feeding of five thousand people conveys the idea of the spiritual nourishment that comes from Christ. The cure of the man so long impotent, lying at the pool of Bethesda, represents Jesus as the creator of a new life of the world—a life of vigorous health to the higher nature. It is this idealism which has always commended the gospel to the reflective mind. The world of ideas is the true world, the only one deserving serious thought; the material world being little else than its echo. How is it then, that the gospel often presents a sensuous character—that while it is highly ideal and spiritual, it is also outward and materialistic? The objective is strongly represented as well as the subjective. A notable example of this appears in vi. 53–58: 'Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me. This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread

shall live for ever.' Immediately after we find: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life' (verse 63).

How are these expressions to be explained?

Various considerations have been suggested, explanatory of the peculiarity in question. Reminiscences of what Christ really said, or of what happened in the course of his earthly life, may furnish some explanation. In other words, the spiritualistic and philosophical is non-apostolic; the sensuous and objective, apostolic. Such a solution is wholly insufficient. Others will think of a mediating purpose on the part of the writer, who sometimes adopted a conciliatory style that his work might be more acceptable in the state of ecclesiastical parties and varying sentiments amid which it appeared. Hence the gospel has a contradictory character here and there—a grossly literal, in opposition to a highly spiritual and speculative aspect. This explanation may suit a few places, not all. Scholten thinks that some passages of an objective nature proceeded from the writer of the 21st chapter, as v. 28, 29; vi. 40^{b}, 44^{b}, the clause 'and I will raise him up at the last day;' and 'at the last day' (vi. 39^{b}; xii. 48^{b}).[1] The stand-point taken in these portions is the same as in chapter xxi. the Jewish-christian one. The opinion is plausible, but lacks external evidence. It also fails to account for all the phenomena. Others may explain the feature before us by the analogy of philosophy. Hegel's system has such contrarieties. Platonism has them. So has Philo. In fact, they belong to all transcendental philosophy. The endeavour to make subjective certainties objectively credible, to procure more belief by the operation of a

[1] Krit.-hist. Inleiding in de Schriften des N. T. pp. 149–154; and Das Evangelium nach Johannes, p. 67.

sensuous imagination than the critical understanding would warrant; to make the spiritual and abstract tell upon the world by forms and features fitted to excite surprise, contributes to the explanation of the characteristic in question. This view is not *essentially* different from what we have called the mediating principle. A notable example of the peculiarity to which we apply it, is the indistinct way in which the humanity of Christ is presented in the gospel, the docetic view of it being implied in several places (vii. 30; viii. 59; x. 39; xviii. 6), and the undocetic in others. The narrative usually assigns to Jesus a shadowy, ethereal body—the outward semblance of one; while a few passages indicate a real structure of flesh and blood. The gospel hovers between the two.

The tendency of these remarks is to show, that the gospel has sometimes a twofold aspect, or rather that its prominent aspect is broken in upon by an exceptional feature. The objective and sensuous is not very strongly represented in the gospel; nor in like proportion to the subjective and spiritual. It does not constitute a *characteristic* feature. If it be thought that the miracles are more strikingly objective than those of the synoptists, we reply that, even in relation to them, the faith that requires such phenomena for its production, is an imperfect and inferior one. When Thomas was convinced that the identical Jesus had risen again, it is said, 'blessed are they that have not seen and have believed.' Miracles, however striking, are but signs or proofs of the divine mission of Christ, with which true faith in the Son of God can dispense. The Word is best known and believed in apart from outward exhibitions of his power. His person, full of grace and truth, communicates spiritual life to the divine consciousness.

COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS WITH THOSE OF THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS.

1. Similarity..

The following particulars are narrated by John and the synoptists.

The cleansing of the temple, ii. 13, 22. Compare Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15–17; Luke xix. 45, 46.

The miraculous feeding of the multitude, vi. 1–14. Compare Matt. xiv. 13–21; Mark vi.. 30–34; Luke ix. 10–17. The events preliminary to the miracle are omitted in the fourth gospel, in which the incident appears in a briefer and less original form, unlike what an eye-witness would give it.

Jesus walks on the sea, vi. 17–21. Compare Matt. xiv. 22–36; Mark vi. 45–56. Here there is a difficulty in reconciling the accounts. The narrative in the fourth gospel implies that Jesus did not go into the ship, as Chrysostom and others saw. If it be so, the contradiction is irreconcilable, and the wonder is magnified.

Jesus is anointed by a woman in Bethany, xii. 1–8. Compare Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Mark xiv. 3–9; perhaps Luke vii. 36, &c.

There are a number of discrepancies between the fourth gospel and the first two synoptists in these passages. If Luke relates the same incident, it is difficult to reconcile the statements.

Jesus's public entry into Jerusalem, xii. 12–19. Compare Matt. xxi. 1–11; Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 29–44.

Jesus points out his betrayer, xiii. 21–26. Compare Matt. xxvi. 21–25; Mark xiv. 18–21; Luke xxii. 21–23.

He foretells Peter's denial, xiii. 36–38. Compare with Matt. xxvi. 31–35; Mark xiv. 27–31; Luke xxii. 31–38.

His passion and resurrection, xviii. 1–xx. 29. Com-

pare Matt. xxvi. 36–xxviii. The synoptic accounts and that of John differ widely in describing the circumstances connected with these historical facts; and the ingenuity of harmonists has been taxed to the utmost in framing hypotheses to reconcile them.

Besides these particulars, sentences and proverbial expressions coincide more or less closely with parallels in the other gospels. The agreement is seldom verbal.

2. The diversity between the first three gospels and the fourth is much more striking and thorough than the similarity. Two-thirds of the matter is new; and even in describing the same things, the variations are remarkable. We can only adduce the most prominent points of divergence, springing, as they do, out of the general plan.

(*a*). The most striking diversity relates to the day on which Jesus suffered. The synoptists represent him as celebrating the paschal supper the night before his death, on the 14th of Nisan, so that he died on the 15th; the fourth gospel as not partaking of the passover, but suffering on the day on which the law prescribed that it should be kept, i.e. the 14th of Nisan. If plain words be followed, no evasion of this contradiction will bear the light.

(*b*). According to the synoptists, Jesus taking advantage of the last hours of his popularity, proceeded to purify the temple, which was filled at the time with a multitude of traffickers. The fourth gospel puts this event at the beginning of his ministry, when his claims to be the Messiah could have been known to a few persons only. It is utterly improbable that the act was repeated, as apologists say. But if he repeated his discourses, or the most striking parts of them, why may he not have repeated a public symbolical act? We answer, the parallel does not hold good, because the act of cleansing the temple asserted his Messianic authority, and the apostles themselves were forbidden, even at a much

later time than the first passover, to proclaim that he was the Messiah.

(*c*). According to the synoptists, the ministry of Jesus was chiefly limited to Galilee, whose inhabitants were more susceptible of the new doctrine, because their modes of thought were open and free in a territory of beautiful aspect and scenery, where they were more exposed to contact with others than the orthodox Jews of Jerusalem. It was not till the end of his ministry that he entered the capital as the spiritual Messiah, and attempted to impress his divine claim on the Jewish people. Only once in the course of his life did he come into the metropolis openly, and the event issued in martyrdom. In the fourth gospel his ministry is almost exclusively confined to Judea proper. Its public commencement was there, the inaugural act being the expulsion of the traffickers from the temple. His presence in Cana at a marriage and his few days' sojourn in Capernaum immediately after, were only preparatory. How can this consist with the fact that his disciples were Galileans, and that he was regarded in Jerusalem as the Galilean prophet (John vii. 52)? Because a prophet is without honour in his own country, Judea and Samaria rather than Galilee were favoured with the blessings of his presence. In consequence of this diversity in the scene of his public ministry, the three synoptists appear to limit its duration to a year, because he went up to one passover only before he suffered. The fourth gospel makes his ministry last for more than two years, since he goes up to several passovers to Jerusalem.

The evidence of a few synoptic passages supposed to convey the impression that Galilee was not the exclusive sphere of the Messianic activity is unimportant (Matt. xxiii. 37; xxvii. 57; Luke x. 38; Mark iii. 7). The word translated *how often* in Luke xiii. 34 and Matt. xxiii. 37, has been much insisted on, to show

that the synoptists themselves suppose several journeys to Jerusalem prior to the last. It certainly looks as if Jesus had been in the metropolis at various festivals, justifying the Johannine representation. According to the context of Luke xiii. 34, &c., the pathetic lament over Jerusalem is delivered by one who had not visited it before, during his public ministry; though the purport of the lamentation supposes that several attempts had been made to induce the inhabitants to accept him as the Messiah; while, according to Matthew, similar language is employed by the speaker who had entered the city no sooner than the day before. The two evangelists leave the reader to infer that no succession of fruitless efforts to effect the repentance of Jerusalem had preceded the occasion on which the words were spoken. If therefore the fourth gospel furnishes a key to the expression *how often*, it does so by making the two synoptists self-contradictory.

Is there no mode of vindicating the propriety of the word translated *how often* without doing injury to the evangelists who use it?

In Luke two passages are separated—xi. 49–51, and xiii. 34, 35—which are connected in Matt. xxiii. 34–39. Such dismemberment is not infrequent in the third evangelist; though it is less correct than the united narratives of the first. But Luke introduces the first part of the passage by 'Therefore also said *the Wisdom of God*,' meaning some apocryphal writing now lost which Jesus is supposed to cite, and which contained an account of the murder of Zacharias. Now the probability is, that Luke xiii. 34, 35 is from the same source. The subject is one—the treatment which the obstinate refusal of the Jews offered to the prophets sent to them, and its consequent punishment. The woe pronounced upon Jerusalem, and the narrative of Zacharias's murder seem to have been in the same document, perhaps the same passage, and so Matthew

has given them together, though Luke wrongly divides them. According to this explanation, *how often* in the mouth of divine Wisdom relates not only to the ministry of Jesus but to the successive offers which God made by different messengers, to attach Israel and their metropolis to Himself. The reason why the first and third evangelists put the words into the mouth of Jesus was, because the Wisdom of the Jewish apocryphal books began to be identified with him. The evangelists did not observe, or if they did, they thought it of no consequence, that the expression *how often* would imply in its strict acceptation more visits to Jerusalem than they had narrated. All they looked to was the pertinency of the quotation. The murder of Zacharias son of Baruch by the Zealots, to which the 'Wisdom of God' refers, harmonises with the language 'your house is left unto you desolate' (Matt. xxiii. 38); for Jerusalem had been already destroyed when the apocryphal production, which was of Christian origin, appeared.[1]

It should also be noticed in opposition to those who lay so much stress on the word *how often* (Matt. xxiii. 37), that the synoptists represent the termination of Jesus's ministry in Jerusalem as more effective even than it is in John, so that the expression in question may well refer to several attempts which had been made to bring the inhabitants to repentance during that time—a time that may have continued several weeks before the passover at which he died; that a sojourn in Judea preceded that in Jerusalem (Matt. xix. 1–xx. 34); that the inhabitants of the metropolis flocked to Jesus in Galilee (Matt. iv. 25; xv. 1; Luke v. 17); and that all Jews, not merely the inhabitants proper, were 'children' of Jerusalem, as Luke himself understood the word (xiii. 34). Hence Weizsäcker's attempt to bring the synoptists into har-

[1] See Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift for 1863, p. 84, *et seq.*

mony with the fourth gospel on the ground of such places as Matt. xxiii. 37, are futile. It is impossible to make a three years' ministry out of the first three gospels.

(*d*). The prominent lines of the divergent histories are also different. The Jews of the synoptists are presented in lively and diversified colours, agreeably to nature. Among them is a priestly hierarchy with a stiff orthodoxy, resisting the free speech and life of Jesus, accusing him of association with publicans and sinners; while Pharisees are in league with Herodians to ensnare him on political ground. Yet there are also distinguished Jews desirous to learn of him, rich young men attracted by his person, intelligent scribes not far from the kingdom of God. In the fourth gospel, the Jews have one uniform character. There the hierarchy, termed the chief priests and Pharisees, are all in all. Nothing is said of the Sadducees, of the scribes, or of the Herodians. We hear nothing of publicans entertaining him in their houses, of female penitents washing his feet with their hair, or of those possessed with demons unable to resist the power of the Holy One of God. For this variety of character there are types, such as Nicodemus, the man born blind, the Samaritan—studied types of an abstract and symbolical nature outside the sphere of actual life. Their outlines indeed are strongly marked, but they are monotonous and mechanical, without variety of detail, or the light and shade of nature.

(*e*). In the first three gospels Jesus appears as a man—an extraordinary person endowed with marvellous gifts, 'the Son of man' full of the divine Spirit, and far exalted above other human beings by the indwelling of that Spirit. The difference between him and others is one of degree, not of nature. Even Matthew and Luke, whose gospels contain the miraculous birth, assign him no existence prior to the earthly life. But in the fourth gospel he is represented as the personal Logos before he appeared on earth; by whom the world became what it

is. He was in the bosom of the Father; and, though becoming incarnate in the man Jesus, is exhibited as possessing divine glory on earth. In this respect he is not the Messiah of the Jews.

(*f*). The general teaching of the fourth gospel is also different from that of the synoptists. In the former, Jesus is presented as *the truth*, the *only-begotten Son of God*, belief in whom is necessary to salvation. Eternal life is in him alone, whence it issues to the faithful. He is eternal life. The highest importance is attached to his reception as the eternal Word, salvation being unattainable without it. He alone who has the Son has life. Thus the object of his preaching is himself, or himself and the Father in him. In the synoptists, Jesus *preaches* truth, instead of being the truth; and the chief thing inculcated is coming to him, following him, obeying his precepts. The kingdom of heaven is promised to the humble, the merciful, those hungering and thirsting after righteousness; to all who have sacrificed their dearest interests for his sake and remain faithful to the end. In the one, salvation is attached to faith in Jesus as the absolute truth; in the others, to a practical faith in God exemplifying the spirit and self-sacrificing life of Jesus. The one represents the person of Christ as the origin and principle of all spiritual life; the others, self-devotion to God. According to the one, redemption consists in union with the Son of God; according to the others, in practical surrender to the precepts of Jesus. This is apparent from Matt. xix. 17, where Jesus says to the young man, 'Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God;' or, according to another reading, 'Why askest thou me concerning good? there is none good,' &c., compared with the whole tenor of the fourth gospel, 'If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.' The one mode of speaking suits the speculative point of view taken by him who sees in Jesus the incarnate Word; the

other betrays an earlier and more natural stand-point, before the historical tradition that Jesus did not proclaim that he was the Messiah till a short time before the close of his ministry, had been broken by metaphysical theosophy.

(*g*). The three synoptists present Christianity in its early phase. Hence they make it to include old Jewish ideas and hopes. This is most observable in Matthew; least so in Luke. In the fourth gospel Judaism and Christianity are widely separated. The author has left Judaism far behind, and looks back upon it as a hostile thing. The popular belief has free room for ideal views. Prayer is in spirit and in truth, confined to no temple, limited by no narrow boundaries of time or place. Abraham himself is of no farther importance than that he saw the day of One who was prior. The first three gospels adhere to the conception of the kingdom of God with all the images it received from the Jewish mind; in the fourth, the name occurs but once, and the spirituality of the kingdom becomes prominent. The judgment is not an outward scene but an internal act, in John's gospel. Eternal life is not an object of longing desire but a present possession. In the synoptists, the spiritual powers of the higher spheres are embodied in angels and demons; in John, heaven is opened, angels ascend and descend upon the Son of man; but the spiritual eye of the mature disciple alone discerns their wonderful ministration.

(*h*). The resurrection of Lazarus, according to the gospel, was most important in its consequences, having produced so great an effect on the Jews at Jerusalem that the Sanhedrim resolved to put Jesus to death. The miracle happened at Bethany, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, only a few days before the Saviour's triumphal entry into the city, which was but a prelude to his death on the cross. To perform it, he had come from the district beyond Jordan. The synop-

tists, however, make no mention of the incident, which is equivalent to saying that they were ignorant of it; for its nature is such that they could not have omitted it. Indeed their narratives exclude it. Having related Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, a series of discussions with the chief religious men follows, after which comes the resolution of the Sanhedrim to put him to death—a resolution taken only two days before the passover. Not a word is said of the resurrection of Lazarus, nor of the sensation it produced; though it was the immediate occasion, according to the fourth gospel, of the tragical end of Jesus. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a place for the miracle in the synoptic narrative.

(*i*). According to the synoptists, the righteous are carried at death into Abraham's bosom, that part of hades which the Jews termed Paradise, where they remain till the resurrection of the just, after which they return to earth, and participate in the joys of the Messianic kingdom with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, exempt from death, and divested of sexual distinctions, like the angels of God. But the fourth gospel represents the invisible world or heaven, the habitation of God, as the place where the righteous shall be reunited to Jesus, the soul passing into it at death. Instead of a glorious reappearing of the crucified and risen Redeemer to judge living men and enter upon his earthly Messianic reign, which primitive Christianity reveals (Matt. xxiv. xxvi.), the Spirit supplies his place, the judging process being conducted on earth. The *day of the Lord* is not future but past, according to the gospel. The judgment is not painted theatrically, as in the synoptists; it takes place in the heart, separating believers and unbelievers. The interval which the belief of Christians commonly puts between the ascent of Christ to heaven and the day of judgment, consists according to our gospel of a spiritual reign of Messiah, conducted by the

Comforter, the Spirit of truth in the Church. The synoptic representation of the fate of the ungodly is that they will be consigned to gehenna, to undergo there everlasting torture, agreeably to the doctrine of the Palestinian Jews; according to the fourth gospel their punishment is the loss of life. They abide in death. A resurrection is the privilege of those only whom the Father has given to Christ.[1] Thus the eschatology of the two differs considerably. It is easy to perceive which is preferable in a historical point of view.

Examples of discrepancy between the fourth gospel and the synoptists appear in almost every chapter. It is not necessary to give them here: they belong to the commentator, rather than to the writer of a general Introduction. We shall give one instance.

(*k*). The supper at Bethany described in John xii. 1–9 disagrees with the synoptical account of it, in several important circumstances. It took place six days before the passover (xii. 1); Mark says it happened two days before (xiv. 1). The former places it prior to Christ's entering into Jerusalem (xii. 12); the latter after it (Mark xiv. 3–8). The words of Jesus in defence of the woman are in Mark, 'she has been beforehand in anointing my body to the burying;' in John they are, 'allow her to keep it till the day of my burial,'[2] implying that she did not use all the ointment in the vessel, as Mark supposes; but that part was kept till the day of burial, according to the Master's wish. Mark says that the ointment was poured on the head of Jesus; John, that it was poured on his feet, which were wiped with Mary's hair. According to the synoptists the supper took place in the house of Simon the leper (Mark xiv. 3; Matt. xxvi. 6); according to the fourth evangelist, in the house of Mary and Martha, at Bethany. The name of the woman is not given in

[1] Chapter v. 28, 29 contradicts the usual teaching of the gospel on this subject.

[2] See the texts of Lachmann and Tischendorf.

Matthew and Mark. In the fourth gospel she is called Mary.

A careful comparison of these discrepancies shows that the synoptical account is much more probable, because the time allowed by the fourth gospel, from the 11th till the 13th of Nisan (xii. 12; xiii. 1), i.e. a day and half, is too short for the final activity of Jesus in the metropolis; because the words in defence of the woman are not so suitable in John; because the act of wiping the feet with her hair is scarcely appropriate to Mary the friend of Jesus, and the pouring of the ointment on the head is more likely than on the feet; and because it is improbable that the name of Mary, had she done this act, would have disappeared from the synoptic tradition. The fourth evangelist seems to have got the name from Luke, and transferred various particulars from the account of an anointing in the third gospel (Luke vii. 37, 38) to the present occurrence, such as wiping Jesus's feet and anointing them with ointment, which were appropriate expressions of deep penitence for sin. Besides, Luke's gospel seems to put the dwelling-place of Martha and Mary in Galilee. The unnamed village (Luke x. 38) can hardly have been Bethany, because Jesus did not come to it till a later period (xix. 29). Why then should the fourth evangelist transfer the abode of Martha and Mary to the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem?

It has been said that the synoptical records contain the gospel of the infant Church; that of John, the gospel of its maturity. This summary inference is incorrect, because portions of the synoptists contain the results of developed Christian consciousness not belonging to the infancy of Christianity. The universalism of Luke does so notably. Bearing in mind the fact that the gospels are incomplete biographies, and that their authors did not mean to write histories, we still think that their reconciliation is impossible. We freely concede that the

memoirs are fragmentary, and that two supplementary records may be perfectly consistent; but the question is, Are they so? Do the elements of these fragmentary biographies exclude one another? Are the differences between them irreconcilable? That is the real point in debate. Many believe that the discordance is so great as to preclude reconciliation, unless at the sacrifice of sound philosophy and fair criticism; and we are disposed to agree with them.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

1. External evidence.

(*a*). Bleek finds evidence of acquaintance with the fourth gospel on the part of Mark, or the writer of the second, in Mark xiv. 3 (John xii. 3), verses 5, 6 (John xii. 5, 7); vi. 37, 39 (John vi. 7, 10); xiv. 65 (John xviii. 22); xv. 8, &c. (John xviii. 39); xvi. 9 (John xx. 14, &c.); ii. 9, 12 (John v. 8, 9); xi. 9 (John xii. 13).[1] In favour of the same position, De Wette adduces the compilatory character of the second gospel, contrasted with the originality of the fourth. The probability is as great that the similarities in the fourth gospel owe their origin to the second.

The same critic supposes that the words of 2 Peter i. 14 refer to John xxi. 18, so that the author of the epistle was already acquainted with the gospel. This is unlikely, since both do not refer to the same kind of death. The writer of Peter's second epistle probably alludes to *a revelation* respecting his death which the apostle received; whereas the words of John xxi. 18, &c. mean a *violent*, not a *speedy* decease.

(*b*). It has been thought that Barnabas was acquainted with the fourth gospel, because he speaks of Christ's being typified by the brazen serpent which Moses erected,[2]

[1] Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik, pp. 83, 200. [2] Chapter xii.

alluding apparently to John iii. 14. But though such general comparisons must have belonged to the current typology of the time, as the context shows, and contain nothing definite, Tischendorf does not scruple to cite the passage as evidence of the existence of the gospel, and of the writer's acquaintance with it.[1] He even converts the Barnabas-epistle into a witness for *a canon* of the gospels, i.e. the four present ones, in the beginning of the second century, though it contains but one express quotation from the New Testament, viz. Matt. xx. 16. Various passages bearing some resemblance to places in the New Testament books have been adduced from Barnabas; but it has been well observed, that 'these resemblances do not argue any knowledge of the New Testament, as they are sufficiently well accounted for by the nature of the subject demanding them, and by their being so general as to belong to no Christian writer exclusively.'[2] Neither is the date of the epistle so early as the commencement of the second century; A.D. 119 is nearer the truth.

(*c*). Ignatius cannot be employed as a witness for the existence of the fourth gospel. His letters are supposititious, and if they were not, they would not avail here. In the epistle to the Romans[3] he writes; 'I wish for the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. . . . and I wish for the drink of God, his blood,' &c. &c. These words may probably refer to John vi. 32, 33, 48, 50–58. In the epistle to the Philadelphians we also read:[4] 'for if some have wished to deceive me according to the flesh, yet the spirit being from God is not deceived. For it knows whence it cometh, and whither it goeth, and makes hidden things manifest.' Here some words seem to be taken from John iii. 8; and the conclusion may

[1] Wann wurden die Evangelien verfasst? p. 96, 4th ed.
[2] Donaldson's History of Christian Literature, vol. i. p. 242.
[3] Chapter vii. [4] Chapter vii.

perhaps refer to xvi. 8. The allusion is not so definite or probable as that of the first passage. Another place is in the epistle to the Philadelphians,[1] where we read of the high priest 'being the door of the Father, by which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob enter; and the prophets, the apostles, and the Church.' Here the reference to John x. 9 is very doubtful. Christ is not called the 'door of the sheep,' as in the gospel; nor has the latter any mention of the patriarchs. The passage may have been in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, from which the Clementine homilies adduce Christ's words, 'I am the gate of life; he that enters by me goes into life' (iii. 52). Ignatius shows that 'the catholic Church' had 'the gospel' and 'the apostle,' the two constituent portions of the New Testament; and it can hardly be doubted that the former[2] embraced the fourth gospel, though it may have had an extra-canonical one also. But the so-called Ignatius is not an apostolic father. The productions bearing his name were not prior to the middle of the second century. The three epistles supposed to be oldest were written after A.D. 160. If the three were enlarged to seven, such extension did not take place till ten years after (A.D. 170). No reliance can be placed on either recension, the smaller or the larger. It is a bold step on the part of Tischendorf to assume the authenticity of the seven, on the ground of Eusebius's acknowledgment of them and Barnabas's attestation, as if the historian's testimony possessed critical worth, and the epistle of Barnabas were authentic. The authenticity of the seven epistles cannot be proved by another unauthentic epistle; and Eusebius is certainly untrustworthy in many respects. It is well ascertained that Ignatius's journey to Rome to suffer martyrdom there is mythical, and his letters forgeries. He died at Antioch not Rome, A.D. 115, when Trajan spent the winter at

[1] Chapter ix.

[2] The εὐαγγέλιον.

Antioch, while he was on his Parthian expedition. Eusebius's account and his date are unreliable.

(*d*). Polycarp does not notice the fourth gospel. He seems, however, to have known the first epistle of John. In his epistle to the Philippians[1] he writes, 'for whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, he is antichrist' (1 John iv. 3). The letter is not authentic in its present state. Daillé proved that the thirteenth chapter is later than the rest; and Ritschl, that the work is interpolated. The greater part is authentic, though Hilgenfeld, after Schwegler, attempts to show that the whole is posterior to Polycarp. The date is between A.D. 147 and 167, since it was written against the Marcionites, whose head flourished from A.D. 140 to 150. Polycarp may have been acquainted with John's first epistle.[2] If he knew the gospel, he could not have looked upon it as the work of his teacher John, because he defended, by John's example, an opinion about the paschal meal directly opposed to the fourth gospel.

(*e*). With respect to Papias bishop of Hierapolis (A.D. 165), we are indebted to Eusebius for all we know of him. The historian states that he wrote a work, called 'An Exposition of Oracles of the Lord,' embodying carefully collected traditions of trustworthy elders respecting apostles and apostolic men. Eusebius also extracts from his book what relates to two gospels, those of Matthew and Mark. He gives nothing about John or Luke. Yet the historian's purpose was to gather the testimonies of old church teachers respecting the books of the New Testament. It is also clear that Papias's millennarianism was drawn from the Apocalypse. It is difficult to suppose that Eusebius would have overlooked any notice of John's gospel by Papias; and it is equally difficult to conceive that Papias, searching for traditional notices of the apostle John, would have

[1] Chapter vii.

[2] Zeller in the Theologische Jahrbücher, iv. p. 586, &c. and vi. 144.

omitted all mention of his gospel. The silence of the Phrygian bishop, therefore, is a strong ground against the authenticity of the fourth gospel, or against its existence in his time. It may be said that we cannot know in what connection Papias communicated his notices of Matthew and Mark; or whether he had a definite reason for speaking of John at the same time, supposing him known to the bishop as the author of a gospel; and therefore the conclusion drawn from his silence may be incorrect. But a work on 'the Lord's sayings' must surely have led the writer to a gospel containing many characteristic discourses of Jesus. Eusebius states that Papias inquired accurately 'what *John* said, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples;' and what he communicated about the origin of two gospels was of sufficient importance, in the opinion of the historian, to be recorded. Hence it is hard to conceive that the gospel of an apostle who belonged to the Asiatic church was excluded from Papias's plan. It is also strange that in the two passages where Eusebius treats of the origin of the fourth gospel,[1] he should pass over Papias's account, giving in its place a tradition of Clemens Alexandrinus, which is so uncertain as to need the introduction *they say*.[2]

The general object of Papias included a reason for speaking of John's gospel if it existed and were known to be his. If it did not exist or were reckoned unauthentic, his silence is explained.

Two proofs of Papias's acquaintance with the gospel are adduced by Dorner.[3] One is in the fragment of a Bodleian MS. communicated by Grabe and Routh.[4] The MS. is of the fourteenth century, and at the beginning of the passage, *Papia* stands in the margin. Hence

[1] H. E. iii. 24, 3; vi. 14, 3. [2] *φασί*.

[3] Entwicklungs Geschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, erster Theil. p. 215, ed. 2.

[4] Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. i. p. 16.

Grabe inferred that it was taken from Papias the early father. But Papias, a lexicographer of the twelfth century, is meant. The second proof is founded on a passage in Irenaeus,[1] where this father, professing to give an account of the eschatological tradition of 'the presbyter, a disciple of the apostles,' introduces the words 'and that therefore the Lord said, "In my Father's house are many mansions."' Here it is equally uncertain whether a work of Papias be meant as the source of the quotation and whether that father did not insert something of his own, or something borrowed elsewhere and altered according to the text of the gospel.[2]

A prologue to the gospel of John in a Latin MS. of the gospels belonging to the Vatican,[3] speaks of Papias's book saying that the fourth gospel was given to the churches by the apostle while he was alive.[4] There cannot, therefore, say Tischendorf and Aberle,[5] be a more definite utterance concerning Papias's testimony on behalf of John's gospel. Granting that this prologue was written in the fifth century, its statements are fabulous. What reliance can be placed on a document which says that Papias wrote the gospel from John's dictation? It is highly improbable that the writer of the prologue drew his materials from Papias's own work, as Aberle believes, proceeding to correct the prologue by assuming transcribers' errors. Tischendorf prudently refuses to accept all the statements of the anonymous author except the first; though it is uncritical to take

[1] Adv. Haeres. v. 36.

[2] Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. i. p. 19.

[3] Vat. Alex. No. 14.

[4] Evangelium johannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab johanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut papias nomine hierapolitanus discipulus johannis carus in exotericis, id est in extremis, quinque libris retulit. Dissc ripsit vero evangelium dictante johanne recte. Verum Martion haereticus cum ab eo fuisset improbatus eo quod contraria sentiebat, abjectus est a johanne. Is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt.

[5] Tübingen Quartalschrift for 1864.

the opening sentence and ignore or neglect the rest. The whole is worthless, written by one who knew nothing about the contents of Papias's book and is contradicted by Eusebius. Neither Marcion nor Papias was John's contemporary, as he affirms.

Eusebius states that Papias knew the first epistle of John, for he writes, 'he used testimonies from the former epistle of John.'[1] Here the historian may have been mistaken. That he was not a good critic is certain. His opinion about the correspondence between Abgar and Christ, the testimony of Josephus respecting Christ, the Acts of Pilate and other things, shows that he was too credulous to distinguish between the authentic and supposititious. Nor can implicit reliance be placed on his assertions. Thus he says of the work called *the Preaching of Peter*,[2] 'neither among the ancient nor among the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has any one used testimonies taken from it.'[3] Yet Clement of Alexandria cites it often, and usually with the formula 'Peter says.'[4] He says the same of the *Revelation of Peter*;[5] whereas the historian himself[6] tells us that Clement commented on it as if it were canonical. In the Muratorian canon it is classed among the sacred writings with the Revelation of John. Thus we might weaken Eusebius's testimony about Papias using John's first epistle, and demand positive grounds for believing that it is true in the present case, instead of, that *it may be* true. But it is scarcely fair to resort to this expedient, as Zeller does. What would make his testimony valid is identity of authorship between the first epistle and the fourth gospel. But the more the two are studied, the clearer will it be that they were not written by the same person. The testimony of Papias, if Eusebius gives it rightly, proves no more than that

[1] H. E. iii. 39.
[2] Κήρυγμα Πέτρου.
[3] H. E. iii. 3.
[4] Πέτρος λέγει.
[5] Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου.
[6] H. E. vi. 14, 1.

both works existed in his day, the gospel presupposing the existence of the epistle.

(*f*). Justin Martyr (A.D. 147–160) often refers to 'Memoirs' or 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' composed, according to his statement, by Christ's apostles and their companions. These Memoirs are expressly termed 'gospels' in three passages at least, and are looked upon as *the peculiar writings of Christians*.[1] That they included the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke there is little doubt; though we believe that they also contained the Gospel according to the Hebrews. But at present we are not concerned with his references to the first three gospels. The question is, did the Memoirs include the fourth? Did Justin know and quote it as well as the other three? The answer can only be derived from a fair collation of all the passages in his writings which resemble places in the fourth gospel more or less closely.

Let it be remarked as a preliminary point, that the first apology was presented to the emperor Antoninus Pius about A.D. 147, and that the dialogue with Trypho was later, about A.D. 150.

'For Christ himself said, unless ye be regenerated ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. And that it is impossible for such as have been once born to enter the wombs of their mothers, is manifest to all' (John iii. 3–5).[2]

Here it should be noticed, that the first part of the passage departs from the Johannine terminology, because the double *Amen* is wanting; the *kingdom of heaven* is put for the true Johannine expression *kingdom of God*;[3]

[1] Ἡμέτερα συγγράμματα.

[2] καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν, ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσίν ἐστι.—*Apol.* i. 61, p. 89, ed. Thirlby.

[3] Tischendorf states that βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is in the codex Sinaiticus (John iii. 3–5) as well as in several of the oldest Greek and Latin authorities (Wann wurden die Evangelien, &c., p. 35). It does

and the word *born again* stands for *born from above.*[1] A comparison of the Clementine homilies, which quote the same saying with the same deviation from the Johannine diction, suggests the source whence it was taken, viz. the Gospel according to the Hebrews. A passage in Matthew is similar (xviii. 3), so that Jesus's expression passed through different forms, owing to various recensions of the apocryphal gospel. Ewald himself admits that Justin took the words from a lost gospel, but conjectures that the latter drew from John's, which few will assent to. It is possible that the words in the Clementines were taken directly from Justin, though it is highly improbable. And that Justin took them from the gospel is equally unlikely when his other citations are considered. It is also possible, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews derived it from John; but all we know of the origin, use, and recensions of that document, tends to disprove the assumption. The second part of the passage is more favourable to the supposition that Justin used the fourth gospel. But the context shows that the words do not express Justin's own reflection, for he refers to tradition, which he never does when giving his own ideas. The whole passage was taken from a common source—from some apostolic writing as Baur justly thinks. The author of the Clementines and Justin drew from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. An examination of the two places in Justin and the gospel respectively, favours the priority of the former. The latter shows more development and higher reflectiveness. The ideas of the one are enlarged and spiritualised by the other. Justin speaks of regeneration by the water of baptism. In his view, being born again is necessary; a result that comes through

not stand in the text of his seventh edition in iii. 3; it is only in iii. 5, where the assertion of Jesus is repeated, that *the kingdom of heaven* is found in the Sinaitic copy contrary to the weight of authority.

[1] Ἀναγεννηθῆναι for ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι.

the laver of baptism or washing, where the remission of sins is obtained by him 'who is willing to be born again.' The writer of the fourth gospel, retaining the term *water*, attaches all efficacy to the Spirit. Hence he speaks of being *born from above*, being *born of water and of the Spirit*, and of 'every one that is born of the Spirit.' True baptism is, with him, that of the Spirit, the water being a minor thing. Had Justin followed the gospel, his ideas would have been less sensuous. The unknown author who succeeded surpasses him in spirituality, ascending from the outward and inferior to that higher agency which gives the only real entrance into the kingdom of God.

'We are called and are the true children of God' (John i. 12).[1] The context of these words in Justin dissipates the notion of their reference to any part of the gospel. It is nothing to the purpose that he calls Christians 'children of God,'[2] since Paul has the same expression.

'As his blood did not arise from human seed, but from the will of God' (John i. 13).[3] Here Justin says of Christ, in relation to his supernatural generation, that he was not begotten by human seed but by the will of God; and John predicates a like thing of the children of God, not of Christ. Instead of referring to any passage in the New Testament, the father alludes to Gen. xlix. 11.

'For I say that he himself never did anything but what He that made the world, above whom there is no other God, intended that he should do and to associate with' (compare John xii. 49)[4] Here the idea only is similar, the language is different.

[1] Θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. xii. 3.

[2] τέκνα Θεοῦ.

[3] ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγενημένου, ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 63.

[4] Οὐδὲν γάρ φημι αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι ποτέ, ἢ ἅπερ αὐτὸν ὁ τὸν κόσμον ποιήσας, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι Θεός, βεβούληται καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι.—*Ibid.* c. 56.

'And he suffered them to feel him, and showed them the places of the nails in his hands (compare John xx. 27).[1]

The context of this passage comes nearer Luke xxiv. 36, &c. than any other, though the place agrees exactly with none in the evangelists, and cannot be made up out of the four. The mention of the nail prints is certainly peculiar to John. But Luke tells us that Jesus showed not only his hands, but his feet; implying that he exhibited the prints of the nails in both; and if a canonical source be sought for the citation, it should be looked for in Luke. It is more probable that some uncanonical gospel such as that according to the Hebrews, contained an account of the appearance of the risen Christ, a supposition confirmed by a passage in Ignatius's epistle to the Smyrneans,[2] where Christ's words to Peter, after the resurrection, are in that gospel, as Jerome states. Or it may have been taken from '*the Preaching of Peter*.'[3]

'Wishing to show this also (as he said, our habitation is in heaven) that it is not impossible even for flesh to ascend into heaven' (John xiv. 2)[4]

This resembles Phil. iii. 20. If borrowed from that, Justin made a mistake. Probably it belongs to some of the uncanonical writings current before and at Justin's time, from which he drew freely.

'I am not Christ, but the voice of one crying,' &c.[5]

These words are put into the mouth of John the Baptist, as in John i. 20, 23 not in the synoptists. The context, however, points to Luke rather than John,

[1] καὶ ψηλαφᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπεδείκνυε.—*De Resurrectione*, c. 9. The fragment is of uncertain authorship.

[2] Chapter iii.

[3] κήρυγμα Πέτρου.

[4] βουλόμενος ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ τοῦτο, καθὼς εἴρηκεν, ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν κατοίκησιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν.—*De Resurrectione*, c. 9.

[5] οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος, κ.τ.λ.—*Dial. cum. Tryph.* c. 88.

since the words in Justin are adduced as the reply with which the Baptist met the general expectation of the people mentioned in Luke iii. 15. Perhaps we have in the citation the free form of a reminiscence based on the synoptists. In any case, it is too adventurous to assume a direct derivation of the words from the fourth gospel, while all other places speak against its immediate employment. Hilgenfeld's assumption of an uncanonical, written source, is precarious.

The words of Zechariah (xii. 10), 'they shall look upon him they have pierced,' are quoted by Justin[1] in the same manner as by the author of the fourth gospel; though the Septuagint and other Greek translations are different. Hence some infer that Justin followed the reading of the gospel. Is it not however as probable, that he took the words from the Revelation (i. 7), as the writer of the gospel did? We believe that the common source of the peculiar reading of Zech. xii. 10 is Rev. i. 7, whence Justin and the author of the gospel drew independently. If this be not allowed, it should be noticed that eight MSS. of the Septuagint have the word *pierced*,[2] as in the gospel, just as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion translated; and that one of these MSS. may have been the common source of the evangelist's and Justin's citation.

'He was an only-begotten Son of the Father of the universe, sprung from Him by a special act as his word and power, and afterwards born a man through the virgin, as we have learned from the records.'[3] Here the 'records' point to Matthew and Luke. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the prologue of the fourth gospel is included; for the title 'only-begotten.'

[1] 1 Apol. 52; Dial. 64.

[2] *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* for *ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.*

[3] *μονογενὴς γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος, ἰδίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ δύναμις γεγεννημένος, καὶ ὕστερον ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου γενόμενος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμάθομεν.—Dial. cum Tryphone,* c. 105.

was derived by Justin from the Old Testament, and the term 'Word' was current long before. Hence the 'records' do not comprehend the gospel of John.

The passages containing ideas and expressions resembling portions of the fourth gospel are numerous. Thirty-five are given by Zeller;[1] and more may be found in the twenty-seven pages which Hilgenfeld[2] devotes to the bare citation of places in Justin descriptive of the evangelical history. None proves beyond question that Justin used the gospel of John. The coincidence is never verbal. It *approaches* the verbal, without *reaching* it. Lardner is therefore hasty in saying, 'it must be plain to all, that Justin owned and had the highest respect for the four gospels;' whereas the critic cites no more than four passages from the martyr. Paley is more reprehensible in simply affirming that there are quotations from John, without condescending to mention any. We admit that Justin's manner of quoting the Old Testament is loose. Probably he often relied on memory. It is also true that his language does not coincide verbally with that of the synoptists in such places as are taken from them. There is this difference however, that it *does* coincide exactly in some passages, where the first three gospels are the fountain; while the same thing cannot be predicated in a single instance of the fourth gospel. It is also a fact as certain as existing evidence can make it, that he was not restricted to the synoptists for his knowledge of the life of Jesus; but that he made free use of other documents containing a similar history. The fourth gospel presents peculiar characteristics unlike the other three. It stands out from them in its own individuality; and would be cited more exactly than they, if used at all. Why then are the evidences of its employment shadowy and un-

[1] Theolog. Jahrbücher, iv. p. 600, *et seq.*

[2] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber die Evangelien Justin's u. s. w., p. 101, *et seq.*

certain? Certain phenomena support the conclusion that this father did not quote the gospel of John. He appeals to the apostle's authority in the Apocalypse for the opinion that Christ would reign a thousand years in Jerusalem. This is intelligible. But he never appeals to the same apostle's gospel in support of any view. On the contrary, he expresses sentiments directly opposite to it; such as, that the persons who rejected the expectation of the millennium in Jerusalem and assumed a spiritual immortality immediately after death, could not be called Christians. How inconsistent this is with the remarkable words addressed by our Lord to the woman of Samaria, is self-evident.

Again, the Logos-doctrine is different in Justin and the fourth gospel. In the former it is less definite, which may be partly owing to the fact, that he was a loose, illogical thinker, unsystematic and incoherent; but partly to the vagueness attaching to all the derivation-forms of the Logos-doctrine, as well as to the original Alexandrian fountain of it in Philo. Yet there is still a distinction between Justin and the fourth gospel in the development of the Logos-idea. The latter definitely recognises the personal distinction of the Logos and God before the creation of the world; Justin seems to make the Logos spring from God, in the first instance, at the creation of the world. We are aware of the possibility of his using language loosely on this point. It may also be doubted whether in one passage[1] at least, he does not speak of the Logos as a hypostasis, or person, before creation; not of his becoming so at the creation, or in other words of his being then begotten. But the general impression derived from all his statements together,

[1] *ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε,* Χριστὸς *μὲν κατὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι καὶ κυσμῆσαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν Θεὸν λέγεται, ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸ περιέχον ἄγνωστον σημασίαν κ.τ.λ.*—*Apol.* ii. 6. The words *συνών, κυρίως, ὄνομα περιέχον, ἄγνωστον σημασίαν*, seem to agree better with personality than an attribute.

favours the idea of his thinking the Word to be co-eternal with the Father, as an attribute, till the attribute became a hypostasis at creation. The one speaks of the Logos solely in relation to revelation or the process of salvation; the other in relation to the creation of material things. The Logos *immanent*[1] became the Logos *produced*,[2] in a different way and at a different time. The gospel sets forth the essential oneness of the Father and the Son; in Justin, the latter occupies an inferior rank; the expressions *Son of God*, or *another God* personally different from the Father, being used along with and parallel to the Word. In like manner, the latter author employs the name Logos synonymously with *messenger*, *apostle* and even *servant*[3] of God. The subordination of the Word is manifest throughout. He is the *first-born*;[4] he is also in one place the *only-begotten*,[5] not with reference to the gospel phraseology, but the language of Psalm xxii. 19–21, which Justin quotes. His being begotten by the Father always presupposes subordination, and is incompatible, in Justin's idea, with rank co-ordinate to that of the Father. The Father *puts forth* or *begets*;[6] the Son is a *production*[7] or creature. Hence the term God, applied by Justin to the Logos, presupposes that he was an inferior divinity, not always co-existent with the Father. When the Logos became visible in the world, he employs other terms,[8] not the peculiar Johannine one,[9] which conveys the idea of the Logos becoming flesh. Thus there is a distinction between the Logos-doctrine of Justin and that of the fourth gospel. While the latter says that he was not only *with God*, but a god,[10] Justin could only call him *God* in a much inferior sense, as a being emanating from

[1] ἐνδιάθετος.
[2] προφορικός.
[3] ἄγγελος, ἀπόστολος, ὑπηρέτης.
[4] πρωτότοκος.
[5] μονογενής.
[6] προβάλλει, γεννᾷ.
[7] γέννημα.
[8] σαρκοποιεῖσθαι, σάρκα ἔχειν, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, γενηθῆναι.
[9] σὰρξ ἐγενετο.
[10] θεός.

the Father and therefore subordinate *in nature*. The three places in which the father applies the Greek word *God* with the article to the Word, are only *apparent* proofs of his opinion as to its propriety. He was compelled to admit that such was the Old Testament phraseology, as he interpreted it; but when left to himself, he invariably uses the term without the article,[1] pointing out at the same time that the divinity was *derived*. The peculiar doctrine of the Holy Spirit as the paraclete, is wanting in Justin.

It is necessary to have a clear idea of the difference between the Logos-doctrine of John and Justin, to see the independence of each. John's gospel speaks of unity of essence between the Father and the Son (x. 30), and teaches the co-existence of the Logos with the Father, from the very beginning (i. 1); Justin makes the Logos originate *in time*. It is true that the gospel inculcates the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Son's subordination, along with that of his co-ordinate existence (xiv. 28; iii. 35; xiii. 3; xvii. 2, 24); but the subordination is not the same as Justin's. Such epithets as, *the first-born of every creature*,[2] *the first-born of all things made*,[3] *first-born son of all creatures*,[4] are avoided in the gospel, as involving the idea of *origination in time*.

It is difficult to believe that the Logos-doctrine of Justin rests upon or presupposes that of John. Their partial resemblance favours the opposite view. The pre-existence of Jesus, which had already appeared in Paul's epistles, and is also in that to the Hebrews, as well as in Barnabas, Clement, and Hermas, was developed by means of the Philonian Logos-doctrine. The expression *first-born* was taken by Justin from Prov. viii. 21, &c.; and *only-begotten* was derived from Psalm xxii. 19. His christological doctrine generally rests upon

[1] Θεός. [2] πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 85.
[3] πρωτότοκος τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων.—*Ibid.* c. 84.
[4] τέκνον πρωτότοκον τῶν ὅλων κτισμάτων.—*Ibid.* c. 125.

Prov. viii. 22, &c., the Pauline epistles, and Philo. Alexandrian philosophy had influenced the speculations of cultivated Christians in Asia Minor.

Had the fourth gospel existed, and been regarded as the work of an apostle by Justin, it would have been a welcome production. He would have used, in support of his views respecting the Logos, a document which expresses those views definitely and decidedly—a document too whose authority would have recommended itself to the acceptance of Asiatics. That he should have drawn the proofs of his doctrinal opinions from the Old Testament and the traditions embodied in the synoptists rather than from the fourth gospel, is very unlikely. Had he known the latter he must have employed it unmistakeably and often. Thus where he collects the utterances of Jesus himself concerning his relation to God, for the purpose of confirming the Logos-doctrine, he can adduce nothing but what is in Matt. xi. 27; xvi. 16 (Luke i. 35).[1] Here the fourth gospel would have been most serviceable, because it harmonised better with his own views. Those who limit the proof of Justin's acquaintance with the gospel to one or two passages, such as that in the sixty-first chapter of his first 'Apology,' increase the difficulty of believing what they maintain. The fewer the places they adduce, the more improbable the fact that Justin would have overlooked the best basis for his christology, i.e. an apostolic one. The other mode of proof is equally adverse to the conclusion sought to be established; because the multiplicity of coincidences betrays their vagueness, the validity vanishing as the number enlarges.

Although it has been said that the eminently spiritual character of the fourth gospel was ill-adapted to the mental state of heathens and Jews, we must still hold that it would have been appropriate in Justin to cite it.

[1] Dialogue with Trypho, c. 100.

The very fact of its comprehensiveness, and the assertions of Jesus that Gentiles as well as Jews are to be partakers of his grace, must have been welcome to the cultivated Romans. Nor were the discourses unfitted for citation—those parts of them at least, which inculcate universal love.

Our opinion is strengthened by Justin's putting the death of Christ on the 15th of Nisan, according to the synoptists. He says, 'It is written that ye took him on *the day of the passover*, and likewise crucified him *on the passover*,' &c. He uses this language, though he had said just before, 'for Christ was the passover,' &c. Had he known John's gospel it is unlikely that he would have so written. Meyer argues that Justin reckoned the first day of the passover the day of Christ's death, i.e. the 14th of Nisan, not the 15th. Had the father said that Jesus *was crucified on the day of the passover*,[1] this might be plausible; but his words are *ye apprehended him* on that day. The apprehension took place at night; and if Justin followed John's chronology, he would have reckoned *the night preceding*, i.e. from the 13th to the 14th of Nisan, to the passover day. But that is opposed to the gospel, xiii. 1, where the night preceding was before the feast of the passover.[2] If a night belongs to the passover day, it must be that *succeeding* the 14th of Nisan; and the *day of the passover*[3] can only mean from the morning of the 14th to that of the 15th of Nisan. Or it might mean from the early evening of the 14th (i.e. three o'clock, P.M.) to the same hour of the 15th of Nisan. As then the night before the 14th can never belong to *the passover day*, Justin understood the apprehension of Jesus to be in the passover night from the 14th to the 15th of Nisan, which agrees with the synoptists. Hence he did not think that Jesus was put to death on the 14th.

[1] ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάσχα. [2] πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα.
[3] ἡμέρα τοῦ πάσχα.

The following is a brief summary of the arguments against Justin's knowledge of the fourth gospel.

First. The Logos who came forth from God, *his offspring, his first-born*, is the great subject of the 'Dialogue with Trypho' and the 'Apologies.' This Logos is identified with Christ, and his pre-existence is of essential moment in the writer's view. Yet he does not adduce a single sentence from the prologue of the fourth gospel; nor does he quote that passage in favour of the pre-existence which is so much to the purpose, 'before Abraham was, I am.' The two places[1] which contain the most direct statements with regard to the pre-existence of the Logos are so indefinite that they have been explained very differently: a knowledge of the gospel would have obviated misconception by enabling Justin to express himself with precision.

Secondly. The procession of the Son from the Father signifies in Justin the act of the Logos becoming a person by virtue of a metaphysical begetting from the Father's essence; whereas in the fourth gospel the expression 'to proceed from' means that the Logos comes from heaven to earth to be man.[2]

Thirdly. The Logos-doctrine of Justin harmonises throughout with the person of Jesus as depicted in the synoptists, not with the Christ of the fourth gospel. In all his human development, the Logos is the synoptic Jesus, not the idealised Christ of the gospel. He grows like other men, makes ploughs and yokes for his father Joseph, and is baptized by John; traits unsuited to the evangelist's work. Justin never adopts the particulars in the fourth gospel which are contrary to those of the synoptists. He ignores the simultaneousness of the Baptist's ministry and that of Jesus, which he would have perceived from John i. 15; iii. 23, &c. The cleansing

[1] Apol. ii. c. vi.; Dialogue with Trypho, 62.

[2] Scholten, Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T. p. 25.

of the temple is mentioned in conformity with Matthew's account, not John's. Simon receives the name Peter after his confession, as in Matt. xvi., not as in John i. 42. Justin also supposes that Jesus when dying was forsaken by all who knew him, contrary to xix. 26. In short, he follows throughout the synoptic history, not that of the fourth gospel.

Fourthly. Remarkable as the miracles of the fourth gospel are, Justin seems ignorant of them all. At least he never mentions any.

Fifthly. He speaks often of the Holy Spirit, how he acts and should be honoured; but he never alludes to the paraclete or Comforter, nor to Christ sending him, after his departure. The language of the synoptists is the source whence he draws his descriptions, not the remarkable discourses of Christ in the fourth gospel.

Sixthly. Justin says that Christ's words were 'short and concise, for he was not a literary man,[1] implying unacquaintedness with the extended discourses which characterise John's gospel.

Seventhly. He appeals to Christ's teaching to show the pure maxims and morality of Christians, quoting many of Christ's sayings, especially those relating to mutual love, which surpass any belonging to heathen philosophy. But he does not cite the most striking saying of Christ, 'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you.'

Eighthly. Many epithets are applied to God by Justin; but none of them affords an insight into his idea of the spirituality of the divine nature. Indeed it has been doubted whether he fully believed in that spirituality, since he speaks of 'the indescribable glory and *shape*' of God.[2] How would his conceptions have been elevated if not corrected, by the sublime saying, 'God

[1] Apol. i. c. xiv. [2] Ibid. c. ix.

is spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' Yet this is never referred to.

Ninthly. The one year of Christ's ministry is followed, contrary to the fourth gospel; and the synoptical account of the last supper as well as the day on which Jesus suffered is adopted, though he is termed the paschal lamb. But he is not the paschal lamb in the sense of the fourth gospel, where a peculiar significancy belongs to the expression, giving a characteristic emphasis to the time, mode, and efficacy of his death; separating the document from the Judaic element of the synoptical narrative, and marking the religion of Jesus as subjective, spiritual, catholic.

The result of our inquiry into Justin's writings is, that his use of the fourth gospel is not proved. Semisch's collected allusions do not show it. Justin's christology does not show it. Indeed its fundamental idea is not the Logos. Even the two passages adduced as plain evidence of the fact by Ewald are invalid. We mean that in the 'Apology'[1] respecting *regeneration* and the other in the 'Dialogue'[2] about *John the Baptist*; for Ritschl himself, an advocate of the Johannine authorship, acknowledges that neither proves the direct use of John's gospel. At the same time we dissent from Ritschl's opinion, that 'the measure of the gospel's employment is not the measure of its earlier or later origin.' Surely Justin would have used it largely had he known it as he did the synoptists, since it was directly to his purpose. So would Marcion, who had to manipulate Luke, a gospel much less serviceable to him than the fourth. A spiritual production like the fourth gospel must soon have commended itself to those who knew it, as capable of satisfying the cravings of their higher nature; and it is therefore a most improbable conjecture of Ewald's, that it was *written* some time be-

[1] i. 61. [2] 88.

fore it was properly *published*; both in the lifetime of the apostle himself.

(*g*). The philosophumena of Hippolytus say of Basilides who lived in the first half of the second century (A.D. 125), 'the seed of the world, he says, arose out of things that are not, the word that was spoken let there be light, and this, *he says*, is what is related in the gospels; it was the true light which lighteneth every man coming into the world' (comp. John i. 9).[1] In another place, 'And that, *he says*, everything has its own times, the Saviour is a sufficient witness, saying, "My hour is not yet come"' (ii. 4).[2] Here the citations from the gospel are apparent. But does Basilides make them? Does Hippolytus give an extract from a work of his? This does not appear. Hippolytus, indeed, begins his account with 'Basilides then and Isidore . . . . *say*,'[3] but the language intimates nothing more than that he intends to speak of Basilides and his school, in the following section. The exact source of his information is not mentioned. Bunsen is confident that it is; and bids the reader look at the sentence preceding: 'If then, it shall be found that Basilides introduces not only the sense but the very words of the doctrine of Aristotle into our evangelical and saving teaching, what have we to do but to restore what is stolen, *showing to his disciples*, that, as they are pagans, Christ can be of no use to them. It is Basilides personally who is to be examined, and it is his disciples who are to be shown up as having lost Christ's saving doctrine.'[4] Here however the critic's answer fails, because Hippolytus simply states his intention of showing *the disciples* who professed to follow Basilides *at that time*—those living in Hippolytus's own day—the doctrines of the Master; and in doing so, it is possible that he may

[1] Page 360, ed. Duncker. [2] Ibid. p. 376.
[3] *φασίν*.—*Ibid.* p. 356.
[4] Christianity and Mankind, vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

have mixed up the opinions of the head of the sect with those of his *immediate* disciples. The whole treatise proves Hippolytus inexact in his allusions to the writings of predecessors, unless the text of it is corrupt.

It is hardly necessary to allude to a fact mentioned by Eusebius, viz. that Agrippa Castor says that Basilides composed twenty-four books 'on the gospel,' though Tischendorf employs it for his purpose, because it is all but certain that the expression 'the gospel' is not equivalent to the four canonical gospels. Both Jerome and Ambrose speak of a gospel peculiar to Basilides himself, which they regard as apocryphal.

Hippolytus often uses *he says*[1] in his accounts of Basilides and others, where the subject of the verb is not given. It even occurs where no definite subject precedes, as in book v. 7, immediately after 'the Greeks say,'[2] and without specific mention of the writer referred to (Pindar), either before or after.[3] In like manner, where the Naaseni-doctrine is presented in the fifth book, the plurals 'they say,' 'they seek,'[4] pass into the singular '*he says*,' as soon as extracts from some work commence; but the writer to whom '*he says*' refers, is not given. After speaking of the Naaseni and using 'they say,' then 'saying thus,'[5] before an extract, Hippolytus immediately adds, 'Now all these things, *he says*,'[6] where the singular verb has nothing to refer to in the preceding part of the fifth book. So with respect to the Docetae (viii. 9) the plural 'they think' is interchanged with the singular '*he says*,' without the subject of the latter being named.[7] These examples show the loose way in which '*he says*' is employed. It does not relate to a subject immediately preceding and named, but introduces the words of another; and its subject is merely an unnamed

[1] φησί. [2] φασὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. [3] Page 134, ed. Duncker.
[4] φασί, λέγουσι, ζητοῦσι. [5] φασίν, λέγοντες οὕτως.
[6] Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, φησί.—Page 132. [7] Page 416.

writer cited. When therefore a Basilidian doctrine is introduced by a *he says*,[1] it cannot be inferred that Basilides himself is the author. All that can be fairly concluded is, that it is found in a Basilidian writing. The fact is acknowledged that it was common to transfer the opinions of his followers to the founder of a sect. Irenaeus did so, why not Hippolytus? Even if the latter does give an account of Basilides's own view, so that '*he says*' means Basilides, little reliance can be placed on the statement of a man who asserts that Basilides drew his doctrine from Aristotle;[2] and that the Gnostic Justin was largely indebted to Herodotus.[3]

(*h*). Valentinus (A.D. 140) has also been adduced as a witness for the existence of the fourth gospel in his day, because Hippolytus in stating the Valentinian doctrine has, 'Therefore, *he says*, the Saviour says, "All that came before me are thieves and robbers"' (John x. 8).[4] The author does not say that he found the quotation in Valentinus himself, and therefore valid evidence is wanting for Valentinus's knowledge of the fourth gospel. At the twenty-ninth chapter of the sixth book Hippolytus seems to pass from Valentinus to the Valentinians generally, which has not escaped Duncker and Schneidewin, who alter the headings from *Valentinus* in the preceding chapters to *Valentiniani*. At the commencement of this chapter the writer says, 'Valentinus, therefore, and Heracleon, and Ptolemy and all their school,' &c. &c., whence he passes to the singular *he says*, though the plural *they say* returns at the beginning of the thirty-fourth chapter. Whether the *he says* refers specially to Valentinus himself or to a writer of his school, is left uncertain. No reliance can be put on what Tertullian asserts; 'Valentinus appears to use "the entire instrument,"'[5] for it is evident that the African father knew little about him.

[1] *φησί*. [2] Page 348, 14. [3] Page 216. [4] vi. 35, p. 284.
[5] Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur. — *De Praescript. Haeret.* c. 38.

That Valentinus and his school did not derive their system of aeons from the fourth gospel would seem to follow from Irenaeus, who, though quoting Valentinian writings repeatedly, has no passage containing a clear allusion to the gospel, except one from Ptolemy (i. 8, 5). They used the discourses of Jesus in the synoptists, and passages from the Pauline epistles; not one from John. The names of several aeons, *Logos*, *life*, *grace*, *truth*, *only-begotten*, &c., were already current; nor is there any proof that they were borrowed by Valentinus from our gospel. The paraclete was not employed in the distinctive sense of John, but was applied to Jesus himself. It has been said indeed, that Valentinus drew his system of syzygies from the fourth gospel; but the Valentinians themselves appealed to a work different from the gospels as the source of their doctrine. The prologue of John was subsequently adapted to their system by an arbitrary process, instead of its being a fountain of the syzygies. On the whole, there is no proper ground for the belief that Valentinus knew and used the gospel.

(*i*). But though he himself was unacquainted with it, his disciples used it freely. Heracleon (about A.D. 190)[1] wrote a commentary upon it, numerous fragments of which have been preserved by Origen. It is remarkable, however, that the name of John does not occur in them. Ptolemy (A.D. 180), in his epistle to Flora, quotes the words of John i. 2, 3, as 'the apostle's,' but the corrupt state of Epiphanius's text at the place, forbids reliance on the testimony.[2]

[1] That Heracleon was not a contemporary of Valentinus, nor one of the earliest Gnostics, is proved by Scholten and Volkmar against Tischendorf.—*Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T.* N. T. p. 89, &c.; and, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, p. 126, &c.

[2] Ἔτι γε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργίαν ἰδίαν λέγει εἶναι (ἅτε πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονε καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδέν) ὁ ἀπόστολος, κ.τ.λ.—*Adv. Haeres.* xxxiii. 3, &c. The words in parentheses may be Epiphanius's; or they may belong to the epistle of Ptolemy. The nominative to λέγει is not clear. Judging by the preceding context, it would be σωτήρ; by the following, ὁ ἀπόστολος.

(*j*). The fact that Ptolemy and Heracleon used the gospel has been applied by Bleek to show that it was already accepted in the time of Valentinus. Had the work appeared shortly before Heracleon, he argues that it must have been the production of a Valentinian, and so obviated the necessity of a commentary upon it to adapt it to the opinions of the sect, in which case it would not have been accepted by the catholic Church. Or, had it originated with the orthodox, it must have been rejected by the Valentinians. Since neither can be assumed, Bleek acutely argues that it was in current repute when the Valentinian sect arose. The first alternative is plainly impossible. The gospel is not a Valentinian work. The second is based on a false assumption, viz. that the separation between the catholic Church and the Gnostics was such from the very beginning that the latter would have rejected a book claiming to be apostolic, because it came to them from the catholic Church. On the contrary, the Gnostics wished to be considered orthodox and adopted the sacred writings, endeavouring to accommodate them to their own tenets by artificial modes of interpretation. The Gnostics were not critics, but doctrinal interpreters, and readily accepted an ecclesiastical writing from the catholic Church, if they thought it could be used to promote their tenets. It is quite possible therefore, that the gospel may have made its appearance after Valentinus, and before Heracleon or Ptolemy, without prejudice to the opinion that the latter, regarding it as an apostolic work, commented on it as such. Had Valentinus known of its existence, in Asia Minor, he would not have neglected it, since it presented points of contact with his system.

The reader will now see that the treatise of Hippolytus when examined, does not bear out the strong statements of Bunsen, respecting its decisive influence on the authenticity of the fourth gospel. When that

estimable scholar wrote, that 'in many articles of the sixth, seventh, and eighth books in particular, we have an abstract only of the text of Hippolytus,' and speaks of 'the incomplete state of some other articles,' it is surprising that he should rely on certain passages in those very books about Basilides and the Valentinians, as if they were complete. Did he never suspect the precariousness of resting on a *he says*, loosely employed throughout?

(*k*). In the fifth book of his 'Refutation of all Heresies,' Hippolytus quotes several passages from an Ophite work which shows a knowledge of the fourth gospel. He writes: 'This, *he says*, is what is written, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit"' (John iii. 6).[1] Here the author of the work, the subject of *he says* is not given. Again: 'For all things, *he says*, were made by him, and without him not one thing was made. But that which was in him was life' (John i. 3).[2] Again, 'the Saviour said, no man can come to me unless my heavenly Father draw him' (vi. 44).[3] Still farther: 'Of which, *he says*,[4] the Saviour spoke, If thou hast known who it is that asks, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee to drink living, springing water' (iv. 10).[5] Other places contain allusions to the gospel less distinct than these. Did we know the age of the Ophite writing whence Hippolytus drew them, their bearing on the date of the fourth gospel would be important.

(*l*). Hippolytus's treatise also contains an account of a Gnostic sect denominated *Peratae*, founded by one Euphrates. And he gives extracts from one or more of their books, containing several quotations from John. In v. 12, John iii. 17 is quoted;[6] in v. 16, John iii. 14;[7] in v. 17, John viii. 44;[8] and in v. 17, John x. 7.[9] We

[1] Philosophumena, p. 148. [2] Ditto, p. 150. [3] Ditto, p. 158.
[4] φησί. [5] Ditto, p. 172. [6] Ditto, p. 178.
[7] Ditto, p. 192. [8] Ditto, p. 196. [9] Ditto, p. 198.

need not dwell upon this testimony, in the absence of all knowledge of the author or authors quoted, and the time they lived in.

(*m*). Hippolytus also speaks of the Docetae, in viii. 8–11, giving extracts from their text-book or some other work. Among them is one express citation from John's gospel iii. 5, 6, introduced by the usual *he says* without a subject.[1] The age of the sect is not early; for as Bunsen remarks, they presuppose the whole Valentinian school.

So far from Hippolytus furnishing valid evidence in favour of the authenticity of the fourth gospel, he is himself a testimony against it. The dispute in the Roman church, as we know it from Hippolytus's treatise against the majority with their bishop Callistus, becomes intelligible only from the fact that the Logos-doctrine of the fourth gospel respecting a *God of God*, was looked upon as recent, and therefore hereticated by most as *bitheism*.[2] Monarchian Rome resisted for a long time the central position of the fourth gospel, as we learn from the Philosophumena. Had an apostle written the work, its cardinal doctrine could not have been considered an innovation at Rome, in the early part of the third century.

(*n*). Marcion (A.D. 140), is also quoted for the existence of the fourth gospel in his day. Tertullian alleges, 'if you had not dealt purposely with the Scriptures adverse to your opinion, rejecting some and corrupting others, the gospel of John would have confounded you,' implying that Marcion omitted the gospel of John on purpose. We place little reliance on Tertullian's assertions about Marcion. He was too passionate a polemic to be exact or careful; and often projected his own views into the systems of others, taking fancies for facts. It is very probable that he did so in the present instance, because

[1] Philosophumena, p. 422.

[2] ὑμεῖς ἐστε δίθεοι.

in another passage, when saying that Marcion rejected the Apocalypse of John, he is silent about any such treatment of the gospel. We know too that this heretic preferred Luke's gospel, which he mutilated and adapted to his purpose in various ways. Why did he not choose the fourth, whose anti-jewish spirit suited his purpose? When it speaks of the law of Moses as a thing outside Christianity, how welcome it would have been. Far easier would Marcion have found it to remove from the fourth gospel what did not agree with his notions, than to manipulate Luke's, which, though Pauline, is still impregnated with Judaic elements. But Marcion never uses the fourth, the speculation in which is deeper, surpassing Luke's by embodying a Logos-doctrine inclusive of monotheism. The later Gnostics gladly availed themselves of John's gospel; why did not Marcion, if it were in existence? The value of Tertullian's testimony may be estimated by the fact, that he represents Paul's conversion to have been effected by a written gospel. Even in speaking about Marcion's treatment of Luke, Tertullian puts it forth as a conjecture, 'Marcion seems to have chosen Luke to murder it.' And as to the gospels which this father looked upon as the primitive possession of the Church, he does not appear to have thought that they alone were accepted by Marcion, because he did not know whether the heretic regarded the apostles themselves, or false apostles as the corrupters of the catholic gospels.[1] While therefore we admit that Tertullian may mean the four canonical gospels, when he speaks of Marcion endeavouring to destroy the credit of 'the gospels that

[1] Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul et accusantis pseud-apostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad *destruendum* statum eorum evangeliorum, quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet *fidem*, quam illis adimit, suo conferat.—*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 3.

bear the name of apostles, or also of apostolic men;' his mere statement does not prove that the heretic he combats had those works. All probability is against its correctness, as Scholten has proved.

(*o*). The Clementine homilies quote John's gospel in more places than one. Thus, in xix. 22, we read: 'Wherefore also our Teacher answered those who inquired of him with respect to the man that had been born blind and received his sight again, whether he had sinned or his parents, that he had been born blind, "Neither has he committed any sin, nor his parents; but that the power of God which heals sins of ignorance might be manifested through him"' (John ix. 2, 3).[1] Again, ['He, a true prophet,] said, "My sheep hear my voice"' (John x. 27).[2] This production, bearing the name of the Roman Clement, written in praise of Peter and against Marcion's dualism, belongs to A.D. 175. Though the writer uses the fourth gospel in addition to Matthew's, Luke's, and an apocryphal one, he does not seem to have attributed authority to it, or to have recognised it as the production of an apostle, since he adheres to the one-year ministry of Jesus, and takes liberties in interpreting John ix. Perhaps it was new to him.

(*p*). Tatian (A.D. 160–185), who wrote an address to the Greeks, is a witness for the existence of the gospel in his day, since he says in the thirteenth chapter, 'And this is what was said, Darkness does not comprehend light . . . the Logos is the light of God,' &c. Here the allusion to John i. 5 is obvious. In the nineteenth chapter we read, 'All things were by him, and without him not one thing was made' (John i. 3). Otto's index gives three other places in which the gospel is referred to, viz. in chapters 4, 5, 13, but they are uncertain. It is now impossible to ascertain the nature of his 'Harmony.' Neither Eusebius nor Epiphanius saw it. If the title[3] were given to it by

[1] Ed. Dressel. 1853, p. 392. [2] Ibid. p. 107.

[3] *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων*, or *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον*.

himself, as Eusebius says it was, it may have been made out of the four canonical gospels. But the testimony of one that did not see the book is little worth. Epiphanius's words imply that Tatian did *not* give it the name himself. Theodoret, who saw and put aside, as he tells us, more than two hundred copies in his diocese, introducing the gospels of the four evangelists in its place, had an unfavourable opinion of the work because the genealogies and some other things were cut off. Dionysius Bar Salibi, a writer of the thirteenth century, says that Ephrem Syrus wrote a commentary on the 'Harmony,' and that the latter began with the words, 'In the beginning was the Word.' But Gregory Bar-Hebraeus asserts that Ephrem wrote a commentary on the 'Diatessaron' of Ammonius, not Tatian's; and that it began with John i. 1. The Syrians supplanted the heretical work of Tatian by an orthodox one, retaining the name of the former. This accounts for the fact, that Ebed-jesu considered Tatian and Ammonius to be the same person; as well as for the probable inference that Dionysius regarded the 'Harmony' of Ammonius and Tatian's 'Diatessaron' as identical.[1] Thus the accounts of the Syrian writers furnish no proof that Tatian's work began with John i. 1. If Tatian used the four gospels, he did not confine himself to these. A later account speaks of his work as a *Diapente*, which suggests the idea of *five* gospels.[2] We do not deny the possibility, nor even the probability, of Tatian using the four canon-

[1] The above is not invalidated by what seems undoubted, that Ammonius's synopsis did not begin with John i. 1. When Dionysius wrote upon Ephrem's commentary on Ammonius's 'Harmony,' the latter was lost. He seems to have confounded it with a Latin gospel-synopsis published by Victor of Capua in the sixth century, purporting to be the version of a Greek work, but evidently supposititious. This 'Diatessaron' of Victor's began with John i. 1. Ebed-jesu's description shows that *he* took it for the original work of Tatian.—See *Angelo Mai's Scriptor. Veter. Collect.* vol. x. p. 191; and *Credner's Beiträge*, i. p. 439.

[2] Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. T. i. p. 379.

ical gospels, but that the work is a proof of the *apostolic* composition of the fourth. When Credner affirms that Tatian's 'Harmony' was the same as the Petrine gospel and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he adduces no proper proof of the opinion.[1]

(*q*). Athenagoras (A.D. 177) is said to have used the fourth gospel, since we find these words in his 'Apology for the Christians' (ch. x.): 'But the Son of God is the Logos of the Father in idea and energy; for by him and through him all things were made, the Father and the Son being one. But the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, by the unity and power of spirit, the Son of God is the mind and reason of the Father.' (Comp. John i. 1–3; xvii. 21–23.) The passage is too uncertain to be cited as a testimony. Neither itself nor other places which have been referred to (in chapters 4, 12, 22) show quotation from the gospel. Athenagoras attributed inspiration and authority to the Old Testament, not to the New.

(*r*). Celsus may have known the gospel, i.e. about A.D. 170, not 150–160 as Tischendorf states, for he *seems* to have lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He was not the epicurean Celsus, but a new Platonist of the same name, and his testimony is consistent with the fact of the gospel's origin about A.D. 150, twenty years before. It is not at all certain, however, whether Celsus *did* use the gospel, though Origen supposes it. The passages in Origen apparently showing it are doubtful,[2] as Bretschneider pointed out;[3] and Lücke candidly allows that Celsus may not have read the gospel. When Celsus says, *some* said *one* angel appeared at the sepulchre, *some* mentioned *two*,[4] it is not necessary to suppose that he had more than the synoptic gospels before him; and another place,[5]

[1] Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Kanon, p. 17, *et seq.*
[2] Contra Cels. i. 67; ii. 31, 36, 59; v. 52.
[3] Probabilia, p. 197, etc.
[4] v. 52.
[5] ii. 36.

confidently appealed to as distinctly referring to John xix. 34, leaves it uncertain whether Celsus or Origen speaks of things in the fourth gospel. This remark also applies to ii. 31, 59.

(*s*). Two passages in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177) show an acquaintance with John's gospel. It is said of Vettius Epagathus: 'And having in himself the advocate, the Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias,' &c. (comp. John xiv. 26). Another place is: 'And that spoken by our Lord was fulfilled, viz. that the time shall come in which every one that kills you will think he doeth God service' (comp. xvi. 2).

(*t*). With Justin's works is often printed the epistle to Diognetus, which is supposed to exhibit marks of acquaintance with the fourth gospel. Coincidences seem to show that the writer knew it. Thus we read in the seventh chapter: 'God himself from heaven inaugurated among men the truth, and the holy and inconceivable Word, and fixed it firmly in their hearts, not sending to men as one might fancy, some subordinate, either an angel or a prince, or one of those who order earthly affairs, or one of those entrusted with governments in the heavens, but the framer and architect of all things himself, by whom he shut up the sea within its bounds,' &c. The author of the letter was not Justin, as is evident both from the style and the theological stand-point. It could hardly have been written before A.D. 180, when Christianity had entirely emancipated itself from Judaism, and incorporated Greek culture with its essence. Subtracting the eleventh and twelfth chapters, which are later than the first ten and from another hand, the epistle has no quotation from the fourth gospel. There are similarities of thought and language, derived from it perhaps; but it is quite possible that they originated in the circle of ideas out of which the gospel sprung. It is certain that the latter existed when the work appeared, i.e. before A.D. 180. In any case the epistle

furnishes no definite information respecting the time and authorship of the fourth gospel. Bunsen's conjecture that Marcion was the writer, is improbable. That heretic would hardly have heaped indiscriminate abuse on the Greek philosophers generally, or asserted their eternal damnation with evident satisfaction.

(*u*). Tischendorf lays much stress on an apocryphal production called *the Acts of Pilate*, several MSS. of which he discovered. Justin Martyr quotes these Acts, and therefore they must be dated at the commencement of the second century. The document in question employed the fourth gospel, and furnishes more valuable evidence in favour of the latter at the end of the first century than verbal quotations themselves would do in the time of Justin. Tertullian too refers to the work as well as Epiphanius. Such is Tischendorf's argument,[1] which had been stated before by Ritschl, who definitely asserts that *the original recension* of the work known to Justin and Tertullian mentions Lazarus.

The Acts of Pilate consist of two parts, printed separately by Tischendorf as A. and B. The editor rightly judges that the latter was written by a different person from the author of the former, and is of later origin. The oldest MSS. call the first sixteen chapters 'records of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of things done in the time of Pontius Pilate.'[2] What proof is there of the identity of the present 'Hypomnemata' and 'the Acts' to which Justin refers the Antonines? He describes, in language taken from the 22nd Psalm, as the evangelists also do, the piercing of Jesus's hands and feet on the cross, and the division of his raiment by lot,[3] referring to 'the Acts of Pilate;' but in the now existing document no mention is made of the nailing of the feet nor of the casting lots

[1] Wann wurden die Evangelien u. s. w., p. 82, *et seq.*

[2] ὑπομνήματα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου.

[3] Apolog. i. 35. See also 48.

for Jesus's vesture.[1] The proof of identity between 'the Acts' of which Justin, Tertullian, and Eusebius speak and our 'Hypomnemata' breaks down, as Scholten has shown. We cannot go so far as to assert that none of these fathers had seen 'the Acts'; or that the document was a legendary thing; but the work called the 'Hypomnemata' is not that to which Justin and others allude. Judging from internal evidence, the present book is not so old as Justin. The Jews before Pilate reproach Jesus with his illegitimate birth.[2] This accusation appears for the first time in Celsus. The Ebionites or early Jewish-christians always considered Jesus to be the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary. Besides, the Jews apply to Pilate an expression, *your excellency* or *highness*, which could hardly have been applied in the time of Trajan to a Roman procurator. We must, therefore, hold that the 'Hypomnemata' are posterior to Justin. The writer himself states that he translated them from the Hebrew under the emperor Theodosius (A.D. 395); and with this agrees the fact that Epiphanius, and Chrysostom or whoever was the author of the seventh homily on the passover, seem to have been acquainted with them.[3] The early 'Acts of Pilate' were composed by some Christian in the second century, and were supplanted by the present document.[4] It is now impossible to tell what in it belonged to the old work, and what is later; but the probability is, that the original has almost disappeared. Ewald is of this opinion,[5] and Tischendorf himself makes important admissions in the same direction.[6]

[1] See Tischendorf's Evangelia Apocrypha, Gesta Pilati Graece, A. x. 1; B. x. 3, pp. 232, 283.

[2] Tischend. Evang. Apocrypha, c. ii. p. 215.

[3] See Scholten's Die ältesten Zeugnisse u. s. w., p. 175.

[4] Thilo. Cod. Apoc. N. T. Prol. p. cxix.

[5] Jahrbücher, vi. p. 50.

[6] Sensim multifariam immutata atque interpolata.—*Evang. Apocrypha Prolegom.* p. lxv.

(*v*). Theophilus of Antioch (about A.D. 176) is the first who expressly ascribes the gospel to John. In the second book of his treatise addressed to Autolycus, he says: 'whence the Holy Scriptures teach us and all who carried in them a holy spirit, of whom John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God" . . . then he says . . . "the Word was God"' (ii. 22).

(*w*). The Muratorian fragment recognises the apostolic origin of the gospel. But it gives a curious account of the way in which John was led to write it. It was at the request of his fellow disciples and bishops, whom he asked to dine and spend three days with him, telling them that they should relate to one another the revelation received, to whichever of the two parties the revelation might be given. It was made to Andrew that night, in consequence of which John wrote the work in his own name, while all the rest revised it.[1] Thus the origin of the gospel is ascribed to a divine revelation. It was also looked over by all the apostles before it was made public. Does not this story imply existing doubts of the gospel's apostolicity? The defence was intended to meet current hesitancy as to John's authorship. There is a simpler form of the story in Clemens Alexandrinus. The ignorance and uncritical character of the fragmentist are well known. According to him, Paul followed the example of his predecessor (?) John, in writing to seven churches, and took a journey into Spain!

From this time forward the gospel is generally referred to as the work of the apostle John. Irenaeus (A.D. 190), Clement (200), and Tertullian (200), unmistakably use it as his. The fathers generally are agreed on the point at the end of the second century; and the voices that object to its Johannine origin are few. The current belief at the beginning of the third century was, that the apostle wrote it.

[1] Recognoscentibus cunctis.

(*x*). Before entering on the Paschal controversy, which has an important bearing on the authorship of the gospel, it is desirable to place the statements of the four evangelists relating to the passover in a clear light. This preliminary notice will obviate the necessity of digressive explanations in the course of discussion.

The paschal lamb was killed on the 14th day of the month Nisan in the afternoon, and eaten the same evening.

The festival of unleavened bread was celebrated during seven days, from the 15th to the 21st of Nisan inclusive. In popular and inexact language, the 14th day was sometimes reckoned as the beginning or first day of the festival; so that Josephus could say the festival continued eight days, and Matthew, as well as Mark, could call the 14th 'the first day of the feast of unleavened bread' (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12). Christ's last meal with his disciples was the regular and ordinary paschal supper of the Jews, on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. Mark says, 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when *they killed the passover*' (xiv. 12); and Luke's language is still more explicit, if possible: 'then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover *must be killed*,' according to law. The synoptists intended to express the fact that Jesus partook of the legal passover-meal on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. Hence he was crucified on the 15th, the day before the Jewish sabbath.

When we turn to the fourth gospel the statements are different. In xviii. 28, we read: 'And they themselves [the Jews] went not into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, *but that they might eat the passover*.' This implies that when Jesus was brought before Pilate, the paschal supper of the Jews was still future, of which they were to partake on the ensuing evening. Thus instead of the 15th of Nisan in the morning, we are brought by the fourth gospel to the 14th of Nisan, and

there is a day's difference between the synoptists and John.

Again: in John xix. 14, we read, 'it was the preparation of the passover,' viz. the 14th of Nisan, on which Jesus suffered.

Lastly: in John xix. 31, it is stated, 'for that sabbath-day was a high day.' Here the sabbath beginning with the evening of the crucifixion-day, is called 'a great day,'[1] because it coincided with the first day of the festival, or the 15th of Nisan. Thus Jesus was crucified on the 14th, as the other passages imply.

A comparison of the synoptists with the fourth gospel, as here represented, shows that they disagree with respect to a day, the former putting the paschal feast on the 14th of Nisan, and the crucifixion on the 15th; the latter, the crucifixion on the 14th. Had John described the paschal supper, he would have placed it on the 13th of Nisan.

The synoptical 'preparation-day' is not 'the preparation' of the fourth gospel (xix. 14, 31, 42), but 'the preparation for the sabbath,' or Friday (Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54). John's 'preparation of the passover' is the preparation for the first passover-day which was a sabbath. In other words, the synoptists speak of the *weekly*, John of the *festival* preparation.

The ablest critics admit that there is an irreconcilable difference between the synoptists and the fourth gospel, in respect to the day on which Jesus was crucified. Bleek himself, who believes in the authenticity of John's gospel, has dispelled the apologetic reconcilements of Wieseler, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and others. The Quartodeciman interpretation is the only natural one. The synoptists have Jewish authority in their favour;[2] and therefore the 14th of Nisan, on which the fourth gospel makes Jesus to have been crucified, is not the

[1] μεγάλη ἡμέρα.

[2] Philo, Vita Mosis, § 30; Josephus, Antiq. book iii. c. x. 5, 6.

proper legal day, but the 15th of the synoptists. This necessitates the conclusion that the work was not written by an eye-witness of all the transactions connected with the death of Jesus.

The only way of evading the conclusion is that adopted by Holtzmann and others, viz. to assume that the synoptic account is improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the Talmud. But in order to introduce doubts into the synoptic relation, it is necessary to take for granted a formal or official trial of Jesus by the Sanhedrim, which cannot be allowed, because the meeting did not take place in the temple, but in the house of the high priest (Mark xiv. 53, 54; Luke xxii. 54); and because the sanhedrists were not already assembled at the high priest's, waiting till the prisoner should be brought in, as Matthew represents, but came along with those who had apprehended Jesus, and with the prisoner himself, into the house of the high priest, according to Mark's statement.[1] The whole process was hastily conducted; and Christ was condemned by Pilate, merely in consequence of the high priest's counsel. The later rabbins cannot be considered sufficient authority to set aside the evangelists and their sources, because the latter were so near the time, and must have known the circumstances better. The whole attempt to damage the synoptists, in order to save the credit of John on this point is a failure,[2] as may be seen from Holtzmann, who, with the aid of so many critics, has not succeeded in making the Johannine account override the other.[3]

The difficulties of the question are somewhat lessened by Mr. Sharpe, the learned and ingenious Egyptologist, who thinks that the crucifixion took place two days before the passover, on Thursday, and that the passover

[1] ἀπήγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ συνέρχονται αὐτῷ (τῷ Ἰησοῦ) πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.

[2] See Scholten's Das Evang. nach Johannes, § 23, p. 282, *et seq.*

[3] In Bunsen's Bibelwerk, achter Band, p. 316, *et seq.*

was eaten on Saturday; which seems to us inconsistent with Jewish practice and the gospels themselves. The day of the crucifixion was Friday. He is right in fixing the year A.D. 29, or U.C. 782, not as to the days of the week.

Eusebius states that when the blessed Polycarp went to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves, they were soon reconciled. 'For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it [the fourteenth day of the passover], because he had always observed it with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles with whom he associated; and neither did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. Which things being so, they communed with each other; and in the church Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, out of respect, no doubt, to the office of consecrating; and they separated from each other in peace, all the church being at peace, both those who observed, and those who did not observe, maintaining peace.' This was a friendly conference, rather than a dispute between the bishops of Smyrna and Rome, about A.D. 162.[1]

The difference of opinion between Polycarp and Anicetus became an open dispute soon after. Melito bishop of Sardis, wrote a work on the passover, whose commencement is given by Eusebius thus: 'When Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, at which time Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there was much discussion in Laodicea respecting the passover which occurred at the right time in those days,' &c.[2] Clement of Alexandria took occasion to write a book on the passover also, in which he seems to have held a different view from that of Melito, who was of the same opinion with the church of Asia Minor generally. Much about the same time

[1] Hist. Eccles. v. 24. [2] Ibid. iv. 26.

(A.D. 170), Apollinaris bishop of Hierapolis, wrote on the passover; a few extracts of whose book have been preserved in the 'Paschal Chronicle.'

'There are some who through ignorance quarrel about these things, being affected in a way that should be pardoned; for ignorance ought not to be followed by accusation, but it stands in need of instruction. And they say that the Lord ate the sheep with his disciples on the 14th, and that he himself suffered on the great day of unleavened bread; and they relate that Matthew says exactly as they have understood the matter to be; whence their understanding of it does not harmonise with the law; and the gospels, according to them, seem to differ.'

Another fragment of Apollinaris, in the same 'Chronicle,' states: 'The 14th is the true passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, the Son of God in place of the lamb, who, though bound himself, bound the strong one, and who, being judge of the living and the dead, was judged; was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified; he who was exalted upon horns of the unicorn; whose sacred side was pierced; that poured forth from his side two things which purify again, water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the passover, a stone having been put upon his sepulchre.'[1]

The controversy did not end with Melito of Sardis and Apollinaris. Polycrates bishop of Ephesus (A.D. 190), addressed a letter to Victor of Rome, fragments of which are preserved in Eusebius.

'We therefore observe the genuine day, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom. For in Asia great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again in the day of the Lord's appearing, in which he will come with glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints; Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hiera-

[1] Chron. Pasch. p. 6, ed. Dindorf.

polis, and his two aged virgin daughters. His other daughter also, who having lived under the influence of the Holy Ghost, now likewise rests in Ephesus. Moreover, John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, who also was a priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate, both a martyr and teacher. He is buried in Ephesus; also Polycarp of Smyrna, both bishop and martyr. Thraseus also, bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who is buried at Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? Moreover, the blessed Papirius, and Melito, the eunuch, &c. . . . . All these observed the 14th day of the passover, according to the gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. Moreover, I Polycrates, who am the least of all of you, according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have followed. For there were seven of my relatives bishops, and I am the eighth; and my relatives always observed the day when the people (the Jews) threw away the leaven. I therefore, brethren, am now sixty-five years in the Lord, who having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and having studied the whole of the sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those things with which I am threatened to be intimidated. For they who are greater than I have said, "We ought to obey God rather than men."'[1]

The course of the dispute need not be followed farther. It continued till the council of Nicaea, when it was settled in favour of the Roman usage.

This passover-controversy turned upon the day to which the memory of the last supper that Jesus ate with his disciples should be attached. The Christians of Asia Minor kept the paschal feast on the 14th of Nisan, the same day in which Christ ate the lamb according to the synoptic gospels. In this they appealed

[1] H. E. v. 24.

to apostolic tradition, and the example of John himself. The fourth gospel is opposed to their view, for it puts the crucifixion of Jesus on the 14th, so that his last meal with the disciples must have been on the 13th. The Roman church and most others, holding Jesus to be the paschal lamb himself, maintained that he died on the 14th, which they did not keep as a feast, but allowed to drop, or transferred their memorial of the Saviour to the day of his resurrection chiefly, i.e. to Easter Sunday, which they celebrated as a yearly Christian festival. This Sunday was not contemplated by itself; the whole passover-week with its six days preceding the Sunday, constituted a festive cycle returning annually and culminating in it. Uniting the ideas of a *crucifixion-* and *resurrection-passover*,[1] but giving decided preponderance to the latter, Easter Sunday, the day of his resurrection became to the Romans an unvarying memorial of redemption. Those who observed the 14th of Nisan were called Quartodecimans. It is important to remember, that they did not keep the day as a memorial of Jesus's death, but of the last meal he partook of with his disciples; the last act he performed in their presence. If it be asked, Did they not celebrate the memory of the crucifixion-day at all? we answer, That their remembrance of the passion-time was concentrated in the significance of one day, with its accompanying feast and the meal which concluded its observance.

It is equally strange that the Roman church did not appeal to the fourth gospel, which is on their side; as that the Asiatics adduced the apostle's practice for a custom to which the gospel is adverse. And it is difficult to see how the Asiatic Christians could have been unacquainted with John's practice. The gospel must have been in existence A.D. 160 and earlier. We do

[1] Λ *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* and a *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*.

not read that Anicetus appealed to it to show Polycarp his error; the latter appealed to John's own practice against the view taken in the gospel. Three suppositions are possible. 1st. That the Christians of Asia Minor or the Quartodecimans did not know of the gospel; 2ndly. That knowing it, they did not acknowledge it as John's; or, 3rdly. That knowing it to be the apostle's, they saw no discrepancy between it and the practice they advocated. The second of these is the most probable. It has been said indeed, that John himself considered the matter to be of little importance, and conformed to a practice which he found already existing in Ephesus. The apostle knew that the last meal which Jesus partook of with his disciples was on the 14th of Nisan, and that the crucifixion happened on the 15th. How then could he set forth in the gospel, that Jesus himself being the paschal lamb suffered on the 14th? As long as the day was the point that regulated the whole question, and the memory of the last supper the thing to be perpetuated, the apostle could not but keep the feast on the 14th. He would doubtless feel with the Quartodecimans, whom Hippolytus represents as saying, 'Christ celebrated the passover on that very day (the 14th); I therefore must also do as the Lord did.' That feeling and the practice to which it led was Judaistic; while the 19th chapter of the fourth gospel shows the writer's view to have been that the new religion was absolutely severed from the old. The apostle Paul appears to have been the first who conceived of Christ as the true Christian passover (1 Cor. v. 7), sacrificed for sinners; and this great idea penetrated the minds of the Gentile Christians, dissociating them from the type, and attaching them to the substance. The view of the fourth gospel is the same.

The contest between the two parties was not the conflict of one tradition with another, but that of a doctrinal idea with a settled tradition. It turned upon the *ob-*

servance or *non-observance*[1] *of the* 14*th day*; the Quartodecimans or Jewish-christians holding that the memory of the last meal should be observed on the 14th, and affirming it had been so from the beginning; their opponents, without denying the facts, maintaining that the *passion* excluded the *participation*;[2] that Christ being the paschal lamb he must have died on the day the lamb was slain; and therefore his last meal with the disciples was not on that but the preceding day, the 13th of Nisan.

If the fourth gospel was ignored, as far as we know, in the friendly debate between Polycarp and Anicetus, it was not so by Apollinaris, who took an opposite view to that of the Quartodecimans. Their opinion, he says, makes the gospels apparently *differ*,[3] i.e. the fourth from the other three. He also intimates, that they interpreted Matthew's gospel as being on their side. Apollinaris himself, with the western Christians generally, combining the typical lamb and its antitype, ignored the paschal supper, making the 13th of Nisan correspond to the Quartodeciman 14th, so far as it was a memorial of Christ's last meal with his disciples.

A passage similar to the first already given from Apollinaris, is found in Hippolytus viii. 18, where the Quartodecimans are referred to as *certain persons*,[4] litigious by nature, &c. The little word *some*[5] in Apollinaris, and the corresponding *some*[6] in Hippolytus, have been curiously applied by Steitz, serving to uphold a fancied heretical or Ebionite Quartodeciman party. How could a writer, it is asked, venture to call a whole party *some?* They must have formed, says Donaldson, an utterly overwhelming majority in Asia Minor. But it is consistent with the usage of the word to take it

[1] τηρεῖν or μὴ τηρεῖν.

[2] The παθεῖν, the φαγεῖν: τὸ δὲ πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν, as Hippolytus says; Chron. Pasch. p. 13, ed. Dindorf; or in Hippolytus's works by Delagarde, p. 92.

[3] στάσιάζειν. [4] τινές. [5] ἔνιοι. [6] τινές.

otherwise than a mere expression of quantity. Whatever party, large or small, is singled out for prominence either in a good or bad sense, may be so designated. Thus Eusebius speaking of the epistle to the Hebrews being regarded as unapostolic by the Roman church, says, that it was so[1] *among some of the Romans*,[2] though the Church generally esteemed it so. The *custom of the Latins*,[3] as Jerome phrases it, is in the church historian, '*some* of the Romans.' In like manner, the apostle Paul styles his opponents, however numerous or considerable, *some*[4] (Gal. i. 7; 1 Cor. iv. 18; 2 Cor. iii. 1; Rom. iii. 8). The Muratorian fragment applies *some*[5] in the same way about the reading of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the churches. In short, the expression is a most convenient one, when a writer wishes to avoid specific mention of persons from whom he differs, be they many or few. But in the time of Apollinaris the Western and Alexandrian churches constituted an overwhelming majority against the Quartodecimans.

The second fragment quoted from Apollinaris, shows how he fully coincided with the view of the fourth gospel, and took his stand upon that basis in combating the Quartodecimans. Yet after his death, when Polycrates wrote (A.D. 190), the Christians of Asia Minor appealed to John the apostle as one who observed the 14th day of Nisan according to the evangelical history.[6] Is not the inference plain, either that these Christians did not know of the fourth gospel, which is unlikely; or that they did not look upon it as John's; or that they did not perceive its discrepancy with their own practice and with the synoptists? The last supposition is as improbable as the first; for controversy sharpens men's wits, causing them to see what they might otherwise overlook.

[1] Eccles. Hist. vi. 20.
[2] παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισίν.
[3] Consuetudo Latinorum.
[4] τινές.
[5] Quidam.
[6] κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Let the thing kept by the Asiatics be clearly observed. It was the 14th of Nisan. And in what did the keeping consist? In the feast of the passover of salvation, i.e. a communion commemorating Christ's last paschal meal. This follows from Eusebius's statement: 'The churches of all Asia, guided by a remoter tradition, supposed that they ought to keep the 14th day of the moon as the festival of the passover of salvation, on which day the Jews were wont to kill the paschal lamb.'[1] Thus the 14th of Nisan was observed as a feast by the celebration of a supper in the evening.

The passage just quoted has been perverted to make it say something else. After a new translation is offered, in which, 'on the occasion of (or at the time of) the Saviour's passover,' replaces 'for, or as the feast of the passover of salvation,' it is alleged that the 14th day was kept as a fast; the fasting, not the communion on the evening, being spoken of. We are thus brought to the view of Neander and Ewald, who make the whole question turn upon the point, whether the fasting at Easter should cease on the 14th of Nisan towards evening, or on Sunday. The objections to this new interpretation are, that the Greek word *feast* or *festival* accompanying *passover* becomes inappropriate, because it is applied to the paschal period which was generally characterised by fasting; whereas the word implies the reverse of a fast. And if the 14th of Nisan were kept as a fast commemorating the death of Jesus, the Asiatics must have celebrated his resurrection immediately, on the evening of the same day, though knowing well that the event did not happen till two days after. Their joy for *the resurrection* began on the very day that their sorrow for his death ceased. Indeed Ewald thinks that they simplified the matter, by bringing the fasting and re-

[1] τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας, σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγορεύετο.—v. 23.

joicing as near one another as possible. Such simplification is unnatural, and could not have obtained from the first, as the critic himself admits. The Asiatic practice continued the same from the beginning, as all the records show; so that if they fasted at first on the 14th of Nisan, and did not cease to do so till Sunday the day of Christ's resurrection, their practice was not changed afterwards. In confessing that the putting of fasting and feasting on the same day was the simplification of another and earlier practice, the erroneousness of the view is virtually acknowledged. Besides, the words of Eusebius, 'to make an end of the fasts on this day,' cannot be equivalent 'to keep the day as a fast,' else 'to make an end of the fasts,' is the same as 'to fast,' which is absurd.

If confirmation of the correctness of our view were needed, it might be given from Polycrates's words in Eusebius: 'These all kept the day of the 14th of the passover, according to the gospel; in no respect departing from it, but following the rule of faith' (v. 24). If this passage shows that the Asiatic church observed but one day and that a day of fasting, as is dogmatically asserted, what propriety belongs to the new version already noticed, 'keep the 14th day of the month at the time of the Saviour's passover?' To observe the 14th day *at the time of* a passover which consisted of no more than a day, is nonsensical. How can an author speak of keeping a certain day as the *last day* of fasting, if a single day only was appropriated to that act? The idea of observing the 14th as a fast, is also discountenanced by the terms 'these all kept the day, *according to the gospel.*' The gospel does not say that Christ and his disciples observed it as a fast, but as the time of eating the passover. The first three gospels give no hint of its being other than a feast-day; and Origen's language is to the same effect, when he calls it Ebionitism to infer from the fact, that because Jesus *celebrated*

the passover in the Jewish way, we as his imitators should do the same. If it be urged that Irenaeus's language makes the controversy turn, 'not only on the day to be observed, but also on the very form of the fast,' we reply that its vagueness is removed by the more definite explanations of others; especially by the fragments of Melito's work.

If these observations be just, the Asiatics cannot have believed that Jesus died on the 14th of Nisan, agreeably to John's gospel, but that he partook of his last meal with the disciples on that day, and was put to death the next.

The true state of the case is, that the Asiatics, preserving primitive tradition, paid chief attention to the paschal meal, which they commemorated by a similar one; whereas the Westerns, disregarding the 14th of Nisan, celebrated the mystery of the resurrection on Sunday. They differed not so much about the close of a fast, as the keeping of a commemorative feast-day. The main point was, not the day on which a fast should close, but the observance of the day as characterised by a paschal supper; which necessarily involved the minor consideration respecting the concluding day of the fast. The Westerns, true to their conviction that Christ himself was the paschal lamb sacrificed on the 14th of Nisan, believed that no commemorative feast could be observed on it, and disregarding the day as Jewish, fasted till Sunday morning; while the Jewish-christians, who held that Jesus suffered on the 15th of Nisan, kept a passover feast on the 14th. The one acted in the spirit of a catholic, the other, of a Jewish-christianity. The one followed the earliest and Judaic practice; the other, a practice developed out of the primitive by that liberalising tendency which converted the Ebionite type into one better adapted to humanity at large.

It is remarkable that Neander[1] should attribute to

[1] General History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. i. p. 406. Clark's edition.

the Christians of Asia Minor what was the view of their opponents, for the fragments of Apollinaris clearly contradict his supposition that the 14th of Nisan ought to be regarded as the day of Christ's passion.

The historian also misunderstands Polycrates's language respecting his predecessors: 'all kept the day of the 14th of the passover, according to the gospel.' The meaning is plain, that the Christians of Asia Minor celebrated the memory of the last meal which Jesus held with his disciples, on the 14th of Nisan, when the Jews removed leaven from their houses. When Polycrates says that all these (including John the apostle) observed the fourteenth day of the passover *according to the gospel*, he means the gospel history in Matthew, Mark, and Luke; for the history speaks nowhere else of keeping the passover. The phrase does not include John's, not only for the reason that Polycrates would hardly write of John keeping the passover according to his own gospel, but because that gospel does not speak of the time of keeping it. As far as it does, it implies another day. When the writer also appeals to the *all holy Scripture*,[1] he evidently refers to the Old Testament as his voucher for the opinion that the paschal lamb was slain on the fourteenth. It is incorrect to say with Meyer, that no disagreement was noticed then between the gospels with respect to the day of Christ's death, for we see already from Apollinaris that he thought the Quartodecinan view made the gospels differ from each other[2] in regard to Jesus eating the sheep with his disciples on the fourteenth day, *and consequently* in regard to the day of his death. It is equally incorrect to assert that the synoptists were supposed at that time to describe an *anticipative* passover, a day earlier than the regular paschal supper was eaten; the hypothesis is a modern one. The natural interpretation of Polycrates's words is, that he and those before him

[1] πᾶσα ἁγία γραφή. [2] στασιάζειν

in Asia Minor, who had been familiar with John and others, appealed to the apostle's practice, in opposition to the usage of the Roman and other churches who did not observe the 14th of Nisan as the anniversary of Christ's last supper; and the fact of their not appealing to John's gospel implies that it was against them, or that they did not acknowledge its authority, or that they perceived its discrepancy with Matthew's. We learn from Apollinaris that they appealed to Matthew;[1] if they reckoned John's authentic and on their side, why did they not appeal to *it*?

When Meyer infers that Polycrates's testimony is in harmony with the conclusion that the four gospels were acknowledged to agree respecting the day of Christ's death and the eating of the passover supper, he virtually makes the contending parties quarrel about nothing. If all were united in relation to the fourteenth day as that of Christ's crucifixion, what was the ground of their controversy? A small Ebionite or Judaising part of the Quartodecimans is made to appear for the purpose of furnishing the occasion of dispute. But the reason for this invention of Weitzel's is apparent, though Meyer and Ebrard have caught at it.

Bleek has also tried to account for the fact that John might have kept the 14th day of Nisan, like the Asiatic Christians generally, in perfect consistency with his authorship of the fourth gospel; and De Wette agrees with him. His solution of the question is, that the dispute had no reference at first to a difference of days in which the memory of the suffering and resurrection of the Lord should be preserved; but that it referred simply to the Asiatics celebrating something on the 14th of Nisan which the Westerns did not and thought they ought not to observe, else the oppo-

[1] διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν.

sition between the parties would not have been characterised simply as a *keeping* and *not keeping*; *those who kept* and *those who did not keep*,[1] as it is in Irenaeus's account of the conference between Polycarp and Anicetus; Polycrates expressing it more fully as *a keeping of the fourteenth day in the passover-* (week).[2]

This is an erroneous view of the question. The object of the Christian passover at first was not to commemorate the sufferings and death of Jesus, but the last supper with his disciples. The remembrance of this meal and the Lord's supper connected with it, was generally kept in the Church; but the difference was, that the one party kept it in the form of the Jewish passover, the other not. Hence it cannot be rightly affirmed that the Westerns did not keep at all what the Asiatics kept. It is also said by Bleek, that the observance of the fourteenth day arose from the fact that the believing Jews took part in the passover of their people. The church at Jerusalem joined in the passover-celebration and in the passover-supper at the legally appointed time, without respect to the circumstance of the disciples partaking of the last supper with Jesus on that day or the preceding evening. So it is said. But the first Christians did not celebrate the feast as Jews, but as Jewish-christians. Whatever Jewish element or form their passover-keeping may have had, it must have been of a true Christian character. Their object was to keep a memorial of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples, which he had held in the form of the paschal supper and on the legal day, in remembrance of what he had done on that occasion. Hence this Christian passover could be kept on no other day than the 14th of Nisan.

In consistency with his view of the Christians celebrating the passover as a Jewish festival along with the Jews, Bleek affirms that there was nothing peculiar in

[1] τηρεῖν and μὴ τηρεῖν, οἱ τηροῦντες and οἱ μὴ τηροῦντες.
[2] τηρεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα.

the apostle John keeping the paschal feast while he abode at Ephesus, as he had observed it before at Jerusalem in the legal way, especially as Jewish-christians were the majority in the church of Ephesus, just as the apostle Paul himself would have done in similar circumstances. This is a false view of the matter. The passover-supper was not regarded by Jewish-christians as the bare passover, but as the passover-supper identical with Jesus's last supper. Hence the apostle John could observe it in no other way, if he observed it along with the Asiatics, than with the intent of its commemorating the last supper. How could John, if he were the author of the fourth gospel, take part in the celebration of a mere Jewish festival? Did he not feel the importance of its Christian element? He must have done so as the writer of the gospel, from the fact that he designates Jesus the true paschal lamb.

As long as critics do not keep in view the fact that the 14th day of Nisan is the guiding point to determine the true state of the contending parties; that the *observance and non-observance*[1] of that day, not the keeping of something as Bleek supposes, settled the question between them, they will fail to understand it.

No reason exists for casting suspicion on the fragments of Apollinaris, as Neander alleges, on the ground that no such work is mentioned in the ancient lists of the writings of Apollinaris, given by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius; and that it would be singular if the usage of the church in Asia Minor were not followed in the district where he wrote. Eusebius, though he mentions no treatise of Apollinaris's on the passover, speaks of *several works of his preserved by many*, and only of such as had reached him. He could not describe or speak of what he did not know. What he says of

[1] τηρεῖν and μὴ τηρεῖν.

Apollinaris as the opponent of the Montanists, agrees with his theological stand-point in the paschal controversy. And the usage of the Asiatic church with regard to Easter, need not necessarily have been universal when the Phrygian bishop wrote. He, and probably others, dissented from the opinion of the majority.

The observations of Dr. James Donaldson about the Apollinarian fragments are nugatory. A writer who can say 'it may be doubted whether it was a practical controversy at all. It seems more of the nature of a discussion; it was a wrangling, at the bottom of which was ignorance, not difference of practice,'[1] misunderstands it. From the first appearance of the dispute under Anicetus, till its climax in the days of Victor, there was an interval of nearly half a century. Each time it broke out the symptoms and language used are the same; so that it is scarcely possible not to recognise its identity and continuity. The duration of the dispute shows that it was not unimportant. Indeed it arose out of the Christian consciousness of the time, and was regarded as momentous. It gave rise to many protests and remonstrances, to synods and controversial writings. It elicited the impressive appeal of Polycrates, and the severities of Victor. And however Irenaeus, in the interests of catholic unity, might deprecate Victor's extreme coercive measures, the long-protracted controversy and the whole documentary evidence on the subject show that the parties thought it important. The Anti-Quartodecimans felt that if Jesus were not crucified at the exact time, there would be a discrepancy between type and fulfilment, and Christianity would be a dependent offshoot of Judaism. But if, dying on the very day of the legitimate sacrifice, he was the true passover, he had for ever abolished the Jewish passover in his own person; substance had displaced shadow;

[1] History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, vol. iii. p. 245.

the accomplishment, the type; and Apollinaris could properly reprove the Asiatic communities for their deficiency in that 'knowledge' or insight into the original interest and meaning of Judaic symbolism revealed in Christianity, in which, as explained by Barnabas, the essence of Christian speculation consisted. The typical signification of Judaism being fulfilled, as shown in the 19th chapter of John, the new religion stood absolutely independent of the old. It was therefore no longer needful to observe the fourteenth day of the passover. The Eastern observance was entirely annulled, being superseded by a different calculation of days, unaffected by Judaical custom, and based on the weekly anniversary of Easter Sunday.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to enter on a discussion of the views propounded by Weitzel and Steitz. Hilgenfeld has shown their untenableness, with sufficient force.[1] Presenting a plausible handle to apologists, they have been gladly accepted by some interpreters; but it is only necessary to look at the early notices of the paschal controversy to ensure the rejection of distorted inferences drawn from them. The assumption of a twofold Quartodecimanism, one heretical, is as gratuitous as that which represents the Quartodeciman festival as a commemoration of Christ's death. In the latter case, the sole difference between the churches would be a mere matter of discipline and ritual, a varying limit of fasting and feasting, one party observing the memory of the crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan, the other, the resurrection on Easter Sunday. The fragments of Hippolytus and Apollinaris distinctly state that the subject of Quartodeciman commemoration was not the death of Christ. Hence the discrepancy between the Quartodeciman custom and the fourth gospel remains, the apostle John having followed the former.

[1] Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche, 1860.

(*y*). The Alogi, a small party in the church of Asia Minor, rejected John's writings, i.e. the gospel and Apocalypse, assigning them to Cerinthus. The reasons for this, as far as we can gather them from Epiphanius were, that the gospel does not agree with the synoptists in several instances. The party seem to have felt the critical difficulties inherent in a comparison of the fourth with the other three. But they spoke of no external evidence against the Johannine authorship; nor did they appeal to historical tradition in favour of the gospel's posteriority to the apostle. They adduced internal objections to its authenticity, alleging that both it and the Apocalypse 'were not worthy of being in the church,' i.e. that they were not proper ecclesiastical or canonical writings. In assigning them to Cerinthus, they showed little sagacity. Their opposition must have been mainly doctrinal. Seeing the use made of them by the Montanists, they sought a plausible reason for their rejection; and soon perceived internal contradictions between them and the other gospels. The fact that they rejected the fourth gospel tells little against it, because it was prompted by a dogmatic bias. It would be valid, had they produced historical testimony against the apostolic authorship.

(*z*). Another fact bears on the question. In the early Christian age it was believed that Christ's ministry lasted a year only. This opinion is in the Clementine homilies (xvii. 19). It kept its ground even after the fourth gospel was recognised as apostolic, showing its high and rooted antiquity. Clement of Alexandria had it. So had Origen, who says that the ministry lasted a year and some months. Tertullian had the same belief, for he speaks of Christ suffering when he was thirty years of age. Julius Africanus and Lactantius thought so too. If the fourth gospel were early received as John's, it is difficult to conceive how this view could have taken such a firm hold of Christian

antiquity; for the work presents insuperable obstacles to it, by *naming three* passovers and perhaps *intimating* a fourth. The fact is adverse to the early diffusion and apostolic origin of the gospel. That Clement, Origen, and others holding the one year's ministry and yet accepting John's gospel as authentic, justifies the idea of earlier writers doing the same—equally accepting all the four as if they could be harmonised on the point—is inconsequential, because *the element of time* constitutes an important distinction. The acceptance of the one year's ministry and of the apostolic origin of the fourth gospel in Origen's time is very different from their acceptance, in the year A.D. 150. When Clement and Origen flourished, the Johannine origin of the gospel was so firmly established that it would have been vain to reject it because of its disagreement with the one year's ministry. The fact that they believed both, showed the deep root which the latter had taken at an early period. That much earlier writers did so is doubtful. Where is the proof of it? The one year's ministry was an early opinion founded on the first three gospels; was the authenticity of the fourth gospel believed in as early, and considered to be consistent with it? It was not.[1]

(*aa*). The series of testimonies need not be followed farther by mentioning the Peshito, which translation belongs to the *first* part of the third century, because it uses the Curetonian Syriac of the gospels, made at the close of the second century. The old Latin version of northern Africa and used by Tertullian, in whose time it was current (A.D. 190), cannot be put earlier than 170, and may be 180. Hence Tischendorf is incorrect in saying that, 'soon after and even about

[1] Mr. Browne, in his 'Ordo Saeculorum,' is the ablest upholder of the one year's ministry in modern times. But the point is too uncertain to admit of even a probable solution on the ground of *the four* canonical gospels. The synoptists apart from John present data, bringing it to about a year.

the middle of the second century, the four gospels had been translated together into Latin as well as Syriac.' It is impossible to show that the four were current as early as A.D. 150, much less that they were translated at that time, or even ten years later. Can it be done by appealing to vague expressions, such as 'the elders,' whom Papias took for his authorities? Not till we know what they were, when they lived, and the credit due to their supposed statement. When therefore an important testimony for the existence of the fourth gospel at the end of the apostolic period is founded on a passage in Irenaeus, 'And on this account they (the elders) say the Lord gave expression to the statement,' 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (John xiv. 2),[1] it is precarious to infer with Tischendorf,[2] either that Irenaeus derived his account of the presbyters from Papias's work, or that the authority of the elders carries us back to the termination of the apostolic time. The word *elders* is sometimes defined by 'disciples of the apostles,' sometimes by 'who saw John the disciple of the Lord.'[3] Is it not evident that Irenaeus employed it loosely, without an exact idea of the persons he meant?

Irenaeus (A.D. 190) accepted the authenticity of the gospel. The testimony of this father is thought to be weighty, because of his relation to the church of Asia Minor in the early part of his life, and to Polycarp. It should be noticed, however, that he does not appeal to Polycarp as a voucher for the Johannine authorship of the gospel; nor to any disciple of John. He appeals to them for traditions about the person of Christ, for apocryphal sayings of Christ which they preserved, for the meaning of a passage in the Apocalypse (v. 36); but the gospel is not mentioned. The relation of Irenaeus to Polycarp and the church of Asia Minor does not seem

[1] Adv. Haeres. v. 36.
[2] Wann wurden die Evangelien u. s. w., pp. 119, 120, 4th ed.
[3] Comp. Irenaeus iii. 36, 1.

to have been intimate. He was only a boy when he listened to Polycarp's sayings relative to Christ, which were taken from apostolic tradition. If he had not arrived at man's age before he left Asia Minor, as is highly probable, the intimacy between them did not prevent Irenaeus's acceptance of the fourth gospel as apostolic, though unattested by Polycarp, John's disciple. The youthful curiosity of the boy had been excited and gratified by the old man's recitals. But the substance of these recitals could not be correctly retained, even if true as reported, in the memory of a man not distinguished for mental power or sound judgment. Indeed we know that Irenaeus *did* commit mistakes about John's writings, either from the confusion of his youthful recollections or other causes. Thus he appeals to the testimony of the elders in Asia Minor as well as to John's gospel (viii. 56), to show that Jesus was between 40 and 50 years of age when he entered on his public ministry.[1] Irenaeus also relates a fabulous saying of Christ respecting the vines in Paradise, for which he expressly appeals both to the tradition of the elders who heard it from John, and to Papias's written testimony.[2] He says nothing about the origin of the gospel so definite as his attestation of improbable things. He confounded his own notions and inferences with facts. His traditional accounts are insecure. Even where he mentions his witnesses, he is far from reliable. How then can we confide in him, when the witnesses are not given?

Since Apollinaris testifies to the gospel's existence in his time, while Theophilus of Antioch refers it to John, it must have come into general use A.D. 175–180. But it was written before that time, for Tatian's Apology shows that it existed between A.D. 165 and 175. Justin Martyr was unacquainted with it, and so was Papias.

[1] Adv. Haeres. ii. 22, 4. [2] Ibid. v. 33, 3.

Polycarp does not use it (A.D. 147–167). Hence we date it about A.D. 150; not much earlier because of Justin Martyr's and other testimonies. Keim's date, A.D. 110–117 under Trajan, makes it exceedingly difcult to disprove Johannine authorship.[1] There was a general disposition to assign it to the apostle, except among the Quartodecimans in Asia Minor, whose testimony is clear by implication against its Johannine origin. And they were in a better position to know the truth than the Christians elsewhere, because John laboured and died at Ephesus. It was easy for the Anti-Quartodecimans to appeal to the fourth gospel in their favour, in opposition to the tradition relied upon by their Judaising brethren; yet there is no trace of their doing so. Hence neither party believed in its authenticity, as far as they were acquainted with the work.

2. Internal evidence.

The earliest proof of the gospel's authenticity is found by some in the 21st chapter, which is an appendix by another hand. There would be weight in this if we knew when or by whom the chapter was written. It is remarkable that Irenaeus never uses it. Though he speaks of the long life of John, lasting till the time of Trajan, he does not appear to have been acquainted with the saying about the apostle's continuance till the return of Christ. He attached great importance to the authenticity of the gospel, but does not speak of the testimony in favour of it found in xxi. 24, 25. When he mentions the circle of John's disciples and the traditions current in it, he never alludes to the oldest traditions in the present chapter. It is also evident that he was ignorant of the third manifestation of Jesus recorded in the appendix, for he speaks of those in the 20th chapter only. These circumstances deprive the supposed testimony of the 21st chapter to the Johannine

[1] Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, vol. i. p. 146.

authorship of the gospel of all weight. As long as we can tell nothing of its date, it cannot be accepted as a valid witness. An anonymous individual cannot attest what is itself anonymous, though he appears to separate himself from the author of the book itself by the use of '*we* know' in the twenty-fourth verse, where the plural may perhaps refer to a plurality of persons.

Apart from the appendix, the gospel itself indicates that a Palestinian Jew did not write it.

(*a*). In the Old Testament the creation of the world out of nothing is enunciated; in the fourth evangelist the formation of all things out of existing materials by the Word. Two *ages*[1] or dispensations are there; here, two *worlds*;[2] there a Hades; here, heaven; there judgment on the other side of the grave; here, eternal life and judgment even upon earth. The Messiah is a shoot of David's, according to Palestinian theology; here he is the only-begotten of the Father; not the King of Israel but the King of truth; the Son of man who belongs to humanity, not to Israel merely.

In conformity with the universalist stand-point of the evangelist, his terminology is separate from the Jewish-palestinian;[3] and savours of Greek gnosis, the Alexandrian Book of Wisdom, and Philo.[4]

(*b*). Geographical and other difficulties show an unapostolic writer.

In i. 28, a Bethany at Jordan in Peraea is spoken of, which probably had no existence. The topographical mistake points to some other than a Palestinian. We assume that *Bethany*, not Bethabara, is the true reading,

[1] αἰῶνες. [2] κόσμοι.

[3] Such terms as ἀναγέννησις, παλιγγενεσία, αἰὼν οὗτος and αἰὼν μέλλων, ᾅδης, γέεννα, καθῆσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν δυνάμεως, υἱοὶ Θεοῦ, κληρονομεῖν τὴν γῆν, δικαιοῦσθαι, &c.

[4] ὁ λόγος, ἡ ἀληθεία, ἡ ζωή, τὸ φῶς, ἡ σκοτία, ἡ παράκλητος, ὁ μονογενής, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὰ ἐπουράνια, θεωρεῖν, θεᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶν spiritually, ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι, ἀληθινὸς designating what belongs to the world above, γινώσκειν applied to supernatural truth, &c.

as Origen attests; with the approval of Lachmann and Tischendorf. It is impossible to understand the Bethany near Jerusalem, since the writer was acquainted with that locality. The place was east of the Jordan. The existence of two Bethanys is improbable.

ix. 7, 'Go wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, sent'). Here the evangelist interprets the name of the pool of Siloam by the Greek[1] *sent*, an incorrect explanation; for the noun means *an efflux of water*, *a fountain* or *spring*. *One sent* would be differently expressed in Hebrew. It is unworthy of an apostle to suppose that the pool had received its name because the Messiah was to send a blind man to it at some future time. A providential and prospective arrangement of this sort is a trivial point which an eye-witness would hardly conceive of or record.[2] An etymologising remark, at once trifling and incorrect, betrays a distant Gentile writer.

In viii. 31, &c., the Jews that believed on Jesus say that they were never in bondage to any man, and seek to kill him. Surely their pride and self-conceit could not have blinded them so far as to make them forget the Roman yoke. That the construction which takes the subject of the verb *answered* (verse 33) to be *the believing Jews* is the grammatical one, even Olshausen admits.[3] It is less natural to suppose that the writer passes imperceptibly from believing Jews to others of an opposite character, and negligently omits to mark the change by putting the usual term *the Jews*.

In v. 18 we read, that the Jews sought to kill Jesus because he said that 'God was his Father, *making himself equal with God*.' The people could not draw that conclusion from his Messianic claim; and therefore it

[1] ἀπεσταλμένος.

[2] Hitzig takes שְׁלֹחַ as a participle with a passive meaning, *sent*; but it is only a noun, as is shown by a few MSS. and the Targums, who write it שִׁילֹחַ after the form of a class of nouns.

[3] Biblischer Commentar, zweyter Band, p. 216.

proceeds from a writer attributing more than a Messianic sense to the title—a metaphysical and later idea equivalent to that of Logos.

In xii. 32–34, the multitude in Jerusalem take occasion from the words of Jesus, 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth,' &c., to attribute to him the phrase *Son of man* which he did not employ. Probably the Jews refer to a former conversation (iii. 14), but one which they did not hear, that held with Nicodemus. The evangelist has put an unsuitable phrase into their mouth. It is hazardous to pronounce xii. 33 an interpolation by a later hand, as Scholten does.

In vi. 36 Jesus addressing the Jews in the synagogue at Capernaum speaks thus, 'But *I said unto you* that ye also have seen me and believe not.' Where do we find him so addressing them? The only probable allusion is to v. 37–44, though both language and scene are different there, for the place was Jerusalem. There is an inaccuracy in the passage, betraying a writer either recording traditional sayings very freely, or composing them himself.

In i. 42 Simon is called the 'son of John,' according to the true reading, not the 'son of Jonas.' Did the writer suppose the two names Jonas and John to be synonymous? So it would seem.

The fact that Annas is termed the high priest, while Caiaphas is repeatedly called such at the same time (John xi. 49; xviii. 13, 19, 23, 24), is scarcely compatible with the authorship of a Palestinian Jew. That two high priests could have existed at once is contrary to history; and we know that Caiaphas was high priest throughout the procuratorship of Pilate. It seems likely that the evangelist thought of the two performing the functions of the office alternately every year, from the expression *that same year* added to Caiaphas's name in xviii. 13. The hearing before Caiaphas, which appears to be historically correct, is omitted by the fourth evan-

gelist, and that before Annas, which is unhistorical, substituted in its place.

Evasions of this difficulty betray the weakness of gospel harmonists. It is said that Annas still retained his title of office after he had been deposed. If so, why did not Ishmael, Eleazar, and Simon, who were high priests after Annas and before Caiaphas, bear the title still? It was not a preliminary inquiry held before Annas, preparatory to a public and formal investigation. The interrogation bespeaks a high functionary, not merely a man of considerable distinction. The verb *sent* in the 24th verse[1] (chap. xviii.) should not be translated *had sent*; and the particle *therefore*[2] properly belongs to the text. The plain meaning of the evangelist is, that there was but one hearing before Annas; the meaning of the synoptists, that there was but one before Caiaphas. It is very probable, as Scholten supposes, that the words of Luke iii. 2, where Annas and Caiaphas are spoken of together and the epithet high priest indistinctly applied to both, gave occasion to the mistake. Assuming the fact of a hearing before Annas alone, the evangelist had no need to change the dialogue, which he must otherwise have done, conformably to his purpose of avoiding everything favourable to the belief that Jesus proclaimed himself the Jewish Messiah. His christology did not suit the public avowal of Jesus being King of the Jews.

In ii. 21, an explanation of the words 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,' is subjoined, which is altogether improbable. Christ did not refer to his body, and even if he did, he must have pointed to it; whereas the apostles were first led to the apprehension of the words by his resurrection. Nor would there have been any propriety in symbolically alluding to his own body to justify the act of cleansing the temple.

[1] ἀπέστειλεν. [2] οὖν.

The unsuitableness of the evangelist's gloss is hesitatingly admitted by Neander. Scholten's attempt to remove the verse in question and its immediate successor from the writer to a later interpolator, is arbitrary.[1]

(*c*). Traditional reminiscences are sometimes inserted in improper places. Thus we read in iv. 43–45: 'Now after two days he departed thence and went into Galilee; for Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. Then when he was come into Galilee the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem,' &c.

The evangelist, knowing the proverbial treatment of a prophet in his own country, applies it to Galilee in general. Being ignorant of any special occasion on which Jesus came into collision with the Nazarenes, he put the remark where the mere mention of Galilee suggested it, without considering or caring for the incongruity of the place. The particle *for*[2] naturally relates to the preceding context, not to the subsequent verse as Tholuck takes it.[3]

Another example of the same kind is in xiii. 20: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.' Here there is no proper connection between the words spoken and the context. The sixteenth verse suggested by the law of association the kindred saying in this place, and its natural position would be there; but it has been delayed till the twentieth verse. How such improper location originated, it is difficult to perceive. Did a few fragments only of the discourse reach the evangelist traditionally; or is the collocation accidental rather than designed? Perhaps the latter.

A third instance is found in xiv. 31: 'But that the

[1] Das Leben Jesu Christi, pp. 283, 284, 4th ed.
[2] γάρ.
[3] Das Evangelium nach Johannes, p. 64.

world may know that I love the Father; and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let us go hence.' The position of the last clause is puzzling at first sight, because the summons to depart does not take effect; the discourse is continued as if no such command had been uttered; and the speaker does not take his departure till a considerable time after. A little attention, however, will show that the expression stands here designedly. It is taken from Matthew and Mark, where we read, 'Rise, let us be going; behold he is at hand that doth betray me.' The evangelist was unwilling to lose words in harmony with his endeavour to set forth the *voluntary* nature of the sufferings which Jesus underwent. The natural place for them would have been at the end of the valedictory discourses, in which case they would have been an exhortation to leave the city and go to the mount of Olives. But the writer intended to record there a prayer of Jesus to his heavenly Father, the impression of which would have been weakened by an exhortation to the disciples at the end. Hence the words in question had to be put earlier, at the point where Jesus represents his impending sufferings as an assault of the prince of the world. When he is going to meet the devil, such cheerful expressions are pertinent; though the disadvantage of the insertion appears when the valedictory discourses are continued as if the 'Arise, and let us go hence' had not been spoken. In the synoptic account, the words belong to the scene in Gethsemane—a scene inconsistent with the character of the fourth gospel. Soul conflicts had too much of the human to suit a gospel which describes the eternal Word. The omission of that scene, coupled with the wish to retain the words before us, occasioned the present collocation.[1]

(*d*). The way in which the Jews are spoken of is

[1] See Strauss's Das Leben Jesu, pp. 554, 555, ed. 1864.

vague, and indicates a relation foreign to that people. The writer seems to occupy a position distant from their religion and customs. Thus we find the expressions, 'after the manner of the purifying *of the Jews;*' *the Jews'* passover was at hand;' 'there was a feast *of the Jews*;' 'the passover, *a feast* of the Jews, was nigh;' '*the Jews'* feast of tabernacles;' 'as the manner *of the Jews* is to bury' (ii. 6, 13; v. i.; vi. 4; vii. 2; xix. 40).

This external relation to Judaism assumes even the form of hostility. Christianity, though prefigured in the prophetic and typical parts of the Old Testament, is altogether new, presenting no organic connection with Judaism. The Jews are 'the children of the devil,' who do not hear the voice of the Father and the Son; and the evangelist expresses no hope or benevolent aspiration for their ultimate conversion, as Paul does. They are never termed the 'people of God,' but 'the nation,'[1] a term which they applied to the heathen. Thus an anti-judaic feeling is ill-concealed in the gospel; the honourable appellation of *Jew* being equivalent to 'enemy of Christ.' The writer's sympathies are more favourable to heathens and to Pilate himself, than to the Jewish people. All this indicates a Gentile-christian, whose birth and education estranged him from the privileged people.

In the synoptists, the Galileans are the warm adherents and friends of Jesus of Nazareth. The writer of the fourth gospel classes them under the general appellation *Jews*. In the former, Jesus applies to Nazareth the principle that a prophet has no honour in his own place; in the latter, it is applied to the Galileans in general. That the Galileans are undeservedly blamed appears from the statement that they are said to believe in Jesus because they saw what he did at Jerusalem (iv. 45), and to seek him not on account of seeing

[1] τὸ ἔθνος.

his miracles, but because they ate of the loaves and were filled (vi. 26). The latter trait puts them lower than the ordinary Jews, who believed in him on account of what they witnessed outwardly. Such delineation of Jews and Galileans together hardly suits a Palestinian Jew, much less an apostle.

(*e*). The character of the apostle John, as far as the New Testament and Church history reveal it, is inconsistent with the genius of the fourth gospel. In the epistle to the Galatians (ii. 7–12), he is mentioned along with Peter and James, as ignorant of any apostolic commission to preach the gospel to Gentiles. He appears there as a Jewish-christian man entertaining a narrow view of the relation of heathenism to Christianity. Hence he could not have introduced into his gospel a passage like that in xii. 20, where Hellenists express a desire to be instructed by Jesus. This is corroborated by the Apocalypse, whose tone is more Jewish than that of any other book in the New Testament. In that work, the apostle is still attached to Judaism in a certain sense. The name *Jew* is there a title of honour, instead of being an equivalent to 'enemy of Christ.' Christianity itself is true Judaism. The Christian Church is a continuation of Israel, symbolised by the woman having on her head a crown of twelve stars. In the general destruction of the nation, the tenth part only of Jerusalem is said to fall; the temple, altar, and worshippers being spared. Among all the people in the kingdom of heaven, Israel has still a certain pre-eminence. The new Jerusalem has twelve gates guarded by twelve angels, upon which the names of the twelve tribes are written. The writer expects not only a new Jerusalem, but a new temple; he foretells the immediate return of Christ, the approaching resurrection of the dead, first of the righteous, for a thousand years; and then of all men, for final judgment. How opposite is this to the gospel, where no personal reign of Christ is

indicated! Instead of the judgment over which he presides, we have the judgment which his words pronounce on all that reject them, a judgment commencing in this life and wholly spiritual. The coming of Jesus, instead of being future, is his spiritual presence, the continuance of that eternal life which he communicates to believers. Thus Christian thought reflected in the gospel, is entirely emancipated from the earlier Jewish doctrine of the second advent, which appears not only in the Apocalypse but in Paul's epistles. Jewish-christian eschatology is spiritualised by the evangelist, which agrees with the ideas expressed by Jesus himself in the parables of the leaven hid in meal, and of the sower—parables that must be taken as a criterion, with other statements, to determine the authenticity of many expressions put by the synoptists into the mouth of Jesus respecting his future visible appearance in the clouds of heaven to set up a kingdom. That such Jewish-christian ideas are incorrectly attributed to him by later tradition, we do not doubt. Unless his views were materially altered towards the end of his life—a supposition utterly incredible—such conceptions of himself as that he should come again personally after death to set up a visible kingdom on earth, must be ascribed to unauthentic tradition. The fourth evangelist reflects the spirit of the historical Christ, not in the mystical forms peculiar to his modes of thought, but in essence. The second coming is spiritual. Christ lives for ever in his people.

The view of Christ's person is also different in the Apocalypse. It is true that he is called the 'Word of God' in xix. 13, but merely because the Messiah proclaims the Word of God, not in the sense of the Word made flesh. The Apocalyptic Christ is not God, but is clearly distinguished from Him: 'his God' (iii. 12). Though termed 'the beginning of the creation of God,'

as in Coloss. i. 15, he is still a descendant of David (v. 5). It is incorrect to say that *he declares himself* 'the Alpha and Omega, the first and last, the beginning and the end;' this language is the Father's (i. 8, 11; xxii. 13).

We learn from Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, that John was accustomed to wear the priestly mitre, implying that he was not emancipated from Jewish observances even in his old age. In using this language it is utterly improbable that Polycrates mistook metaphor for matter of fact. Nor can the significance of the fact be explained away by means of the apostle's own language in the Apocalypse, where stress is laid on the priesthood of believers. That high prerogative would scarcely be expressed by John himself outwardly in the form of a high priest's mitre with a metal plate. And it is a mistake to suppose, that the special privileges of the *high priest* are bestowed on the victorious Christian in Rev. ii. 17; the 'white stone' having no relation to the Urim and Thummim, as Züllig incorrectly imagines. The expressions applied by Polycrates to the old apostle at Ephesus are plain enough; and are resolved into Hebrew imagery only by apologists, to whom they are an unwelcome evidence of a fact inconsistent with his writing the fourth gospel.

(*f*). The author of the gospel indicates that he was not an eye-witness of the sufferings of Jesus in xix. 35: 'And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and *he* knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.' Here the pronoun *he*,[1] introduced before the verb 'knoweth' marks a person different from the eye-witness and testimony-bearer spoken of at the beginning of the verse, who may have been the apostle John, or perhaps was so intended by the writer. The identification of the *writer*[2] with the *eye-witness*[3] is neither

[1] ἐκεῖνος. [2] ἐκεῖνος. [3] ἑωρακώς.

logically nor grammatically right in the verse, unless the words were 'he that saw *bears record*,[1] i.e. bears witness now in the act of writing. The past tense *bare record* points to an author who has already got the testimony of an eye-witness, and refers to him as a credible person. 'His witness is true' are the words of an author appealing to an eye-witness—of one who is himself convinced, and wishes to assure his readers that the statement of his voucher is trustworthy. Hence Steitz's attempt to show that *he*[2] must be identical with the *eye-witness* is nugatory, as Buttmann[3] and Hilgenfeld[4] prove. The pronoun in question *may* coincide with the subject of the verb *saw*, but the context here indicates the reverse. Appeal to John ix. 35–37, where the same pronoun is used, decides nothing against the identity in this place. Ewald himself admits[5] that *the author of the gospel* (i.e. John, as he supposes) is alluded to by the younger friend that wrote from his dictation, and thus that *he* is not equivalent to an emphatic *I*—a candid concession, whatever be thought of the assistant who is conjured up to save the apostle himself the trouble of writing and to explain other phenomena which are difficult on the supposition that John wrote the book as it is.

(*g*). The mode in which the writer refers to 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' 'the disciple,' &c., meaning the apostle John, hardly agrees with the fact of their identity. Whence this mysterious, indirect way of pointing to John? Did it arise from modesty? We cannot think so, both because such modesty does not harmonise with John's known character (Matt. xx. 21; Mark iii. 17), and because the apostle speaks differently in the Apoca-

[1] μαρτυρεῖ. [2] ἐκεῖνος.

[3] Studien und Kritiken, 1840, p. 505, *et seq.*, and Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift for 1862, p. 204, *et seq.*

[4] Zeitschrift for 1861, p. 313, *et seq.*, and Der Kanon und die Kritik des Neuen Testaments, p. 230, note 1.

[5] Jahrbücher, x. p. 230.

lypse. The very veil which is drawn over the person of the disciple is an effectual method of directing attention to him. And surely the best way of awakening in the readers that entire faith which is connected with eternal life was to point out the apostle as author. 'These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.' Nothing was better fitted to induce this belief than a statement that the beloved disciple was the writer; the apostle whom Jesus loved.

No argument for an eye-witness's authorship can be built on the expression '*we* beheld his glory' in the prologue, because the writer speaks from the standpoint of a general Christian intuition, as is evident from the phrases '*as many as* received him,' 'of his fulness have *all we* received.'

(*h*). The discourses of Jesus recorded in the gospel present a remarkable contrast to those put into his mouth by the synoptists, both in matter and form, being similar to the writer's own sentiments. We seem to hear the evangelist more than Jesus in them. The views and feelings of the author have moulded them into free compositions of his own. Thus the discourse with Nicodemus evidences its want of historical reality, especially after the sixteenth verse, where many commentators think there is an insensible transition to the writer's own language. But the conversation does not break off at the fifteenth verse; nor is the following part so much an explanation of what precedes as a continuation. The evangelist's terminology is distinctly seen in the phrases *only-begotten Son*, and *loved darkness rather than light.* His manner appears even in the dialogue, especially the fourteenth verse, where the necessity of Jesus's death is communicated to Nicodemus obscurely, whereas much clearer intimations were misapprehended by the disciples themselves; a fact which makes such language impro-

bable in the mouth of Jesus to a ruler of the Jews. The reflective tone and universal purport of the death of Christ are scarcely consistent with the beginning of his ministry, or adapted to the mental state of Nicodemus. And how could the evangelist have got a knowledge of the exact words that passed between the speakers in a private conference by night?

In like manner the writer himself is perceptible in the matter and manner of the Baptist's sayings: i. 16, &c.; iii. 31–36. With Origen, we suppose i. 16 a continuation of the Baptist's words, especially as the verse begins with *for*[1] according to the best evidence, not with *and*.[2] It is true that many attribute verses 16, &c., to the evangelist himself, since they are at variance with the knowledge the Baptist had of Jesus's person and dignity; but even in the fifteenth an acquaintance with the pre-existence of Jesus is assigned to the Baptist, which is hardly possible. We cannot separate the Baptist's ideas and words from the evangelist's, in the passage, because the latter has given his thoughts and words to the former.

Similar remarks apply to iii. 31–36, where there is nothing to note a transition from the conversation of John the Baptist to the remarks of the writer, whose reflections are so intermingled with John's discourse that the respective elements of both cannot be separated. It is only necessary to put the statements of the Baptist, Jesus, and the evangelist in parallel columns in order to be convinced of their sameness of sentiment, style, and expression. Scholten's table is the best proof of their common source.[3]

The truth of our observations is confirmed by the fact that the long discourses recorded in chapters xiv.–xvii. could not have been remembered thirty or forty years by the apostle John, without a power of memory

[1] ὅτι. [2] καί. [3] Das Evangelium nach Johannes, p. 186.

contrary to the usual laws of the human mind. Psychological verisimilitude is violated by assuming their retention so long in the memory of a single person.

As the best critics, De Wette, Lücke, Ewald and Hase, even Brückner and Luthardt, admit the writer's subjectivity in the discourses of the gospel, the question between them and those who deny apostolic authorship is one of degree. What degree of subjectivity is allowable? If the discourses contain a subjective element, may they not be the product of the writer's own mind altogether? As long as the separating line of the subjective and objective cannot be drawn, it is unimportant whether they be attributed to the evangelist himself wholly or in part. We believe that the author's own sentiments and those enunciated by Jesus cannot be separated as parts of a different doctrinal system. All the distinction between them is *formal* not *real.* The latter have a more popular; the former, a more doctrinal character. The latter are less connected or combined, being an explanation and development of the former. The doctrinal propositions of the author would be unintelligible without the discourses of Jesus, because they are very general and abstract, often mere outlines without colour and shade, requiring the concrete developments furnished by the utterances of Christ to show their particular object. Hence the author must have had the whole contents of the gospel in his mind when he began to write; in other words, the work proceeded from a dominant purpose, and was intended to embody certain leading ideas. Its essential unity is undoubted. All that is peculiar to Jesus as the speaker is, the designation of himself as *the Son of man*, and of the Spirit as *the paraclete.* On the other hand, all the doctrinal elements belonging to the author appear in the discourses of Christ, except—the Logos *being in the bosom of the Father* and revealing Him, his *becoming flesh*, his *tabernacling*, his *fulness* and *grace.*

(*i*). The style and language are very different from those of the Apocalypse. This is so plain, that it has almost become an axiom that the same writer could not have composed both. The language is good Greek, much less Hebraistic than that of the Apocalypse and even than that of the synoptists. The diction is philosophic and mystical, full of abstract expressions. The improbability of the apostle's authorship is so apparent even to some who do not acknowledge the Johannine origin of the Revelation, that they invoke external aid. Ewald resorts to the assumption, that as John did not learn Greek till late in life, he was assisted by others in the composition of the gospel; and Bunsen asserts, that the bishops and elders of the Greek cities in Asia Minor edited the gospel in good Hellenistic Greek. Weizsäcker, whose concessions to the force of recent criticism are considerable, furnishes the old man of Ephesus with non-apostolic assistants.

The tendency of the preceding observations is favourable to the late origin of the gospel. It is possible that the vehement and impassioned spirit which appears in the Apocalypse, may have been transformed into the calm stillness which the work before us exhibits—that age and reflection may have caused great mental development, so that the writer became speculative, mystic, spiritualistic, theosophic, in his last days. The philosophy of Alexandria coming in contact with his Judaic mind, may have revolutionised it, while Hellenic culture widened his views of Christianity. The natural progress of a thoughtful man during the period of a generation, among churches which had enjoyed the labours of Paul, *may* account for the evidences of advancement perceptible in the apostle. But a change of this kind is to the last degree improbable. When the Revelation was written, the apostle must have been a sexagenarian. Did he alter so far in the latter part of his life as to attain a mental condition of perfect serenity without

showing traces of the profound revolution through which he had passed? Did the atmosphere of Asia Minor, aided by natural reflectiveness, make him a large-minded and metaphysical theologian, with views of the person of Jesus and his relation to the world, thoroughly different from what he had before? Did he become subjective, profound, Platonic, Philonian, from being objective and contracted? If so, surely indications of the metamorphosis would have appeared in the gospel. The development implied in the assumption that the apostle John, as he appears in the New Testament is also the writer of the fourth gospel, is too great for belief. It is not a development, so much as an entire change of views—an interior metamorphosis which could not have been followed by a serenity perfectly free from traces of the process it succeeded. We can hardly suppose that the mental conflicts of the writer had entirely passed away.

(*k*). It is plain that the author meant his work to be taken for the apostle's. He intimates that he was an immediate disciple of the Lord, *the beloved disciple*, who was none other than the apostle John; and avoids all mention of the *name*. Instead of employing a direct method of marking the writer personated, he is contented with an indirect process, which served his purpose more effectually. To make his character correspond with the nature of the gospel, he idealises the apostle to a certain extent. As the person and work of Jesus present a higher aspect than they do in the synoptists or even in Paul's epistles, it was proper to give the supposed author a higher stature. Accordingly, while Peter enjoys the pre-eminence in the synoptists, John has it here. He it is that rests his head on the Saviour's bosom, and is favoured with his most intimate friendship. To him the dying Jesus consigns the care of his mother, in preference to the brethren and other apostles, so that he becomes the adopted brother of

the Master. He is known to the high priest, and procures Peter's entrance into the palace; a circumstance very unlikely in the case of a Galilean fisherman. As he takes the precedence of Peter on all occasions, the praise which Jesus bestowed on the latter, after his confession, is omitted; and the denial of his Master is related apart from his repentance. John remains faithful to Jesus, even to the end; Peter's courage quails before a maid-servant. Of all the disciples, John is the only one at the cross. Thus Peter, whom the early Jewish-christian Church had glorified to the disparagement of his brethren, recedes into the background. Paul had already dethroned him from the primacy by placing apostolicity on a higher pedestal than that of knowing Christ after the flesh. The fourth evangelist, with the same object, depreciates apostleship by suppressing the very name, as if evidence of the earthly life of Jesus were a thing of no moment in comparison with the revelation of his essential nature to the inner vision. Agreeably to this ideal exaltation of John, his summons from fishing on the sea of Galilee, is omitted: he passes at once from the Baptist to Jesus, after the prophet of the wilderness had declared the latter to be the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world. The Galilean fisherman of the synoptists is introduced at once as one of John the Baptist's disciples, and transferred to Jerusalem as the evangelist has no liking for the Galileans, and prefers to represent him as a person of superior position in life, the friend of the high priest. Thus the fourth gospel is a contrast to the first three and the epistle to the Galatians, with respect to Peter's precedence, because it makes John the head of the spiritual Church, the representative of a universal, not a Judaised, Christianity. Doubtless the sacred memories that had gathered round his name, and the traditions that lingered in the minds of his hearers, with the fact of his surviving all the apostles, led the writer to select him as such, and to invest his character

with an excellence which his actual portrait disallows. Under the magic inspiration of a Gentile-christian, the Jewish-christian apostle—impetuous, ambitious, intolerant—becomes the calm preacher of love, the speculative disciple, whose heart is as large as his view is extended; the expounder of a new and absolute religion founded by the only begotten Son of God.

(*l*). The object of these remarks on the apostle John will be aided by a comparison of the doctrinal system presented in the gospel with that of Paul. Love is the central idea of the former, attachment or love to the person of Jesus producing mutual love in his followers. But though Paul attributes a high value to the love of God, he puts it over against justice, in consequence of his view of the law. As man cannot free himself from the law without its claims being satisfied, its penal requirements being fulfilled and a ransom paid, the death of Christ becomes the leading particular, in which the entire work of redemption was completed. That death has a central significance in the Pauline conception which it has in no other apostolic writing, and is the proper object of faith. In the doctrinal system of the fourth gospel, the death of Christ has not the same importance, because the law is so far removed from its circle of ideas that its claims are looked upon as antiquated, and the view taken of Christ's person does not allow of the elevation of any phase of redemption to such predominating importance as to become the centre of the entire work. Christ atones by his death as he atones by his earthly manifestation. The author of the fourth gospel is so far in advance of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, that he cannot place the main problem of Christ's redeeming efficacy in setting man free from the claims of the law. The vicarious and satisfying nature of his death are unsuited to the view of the gospel, where the person of Jesus appears in its unity and entireness, so that no one aspect of it, no act

of his life, can have a fixed prominence. Paul looks upon Christianity from a point of view that puts sin and grace, death and life opposite to one another in the historical development of humanity. In this way the practical interests of mankind needing redemption are considered the highest object of Christianity. The writer of the gospel looks at Christianity theoretically, representing it to be the revelation and communication of God himself to humanity, as expressed in the idea of *the Word*. Christianity is the elevation of consciousness into the sphere in which God is apprehended as Spirit. When the invisible God has been revealed to the pure spiritual consciousness by the only-begotten who is in the bosom of the Father, and has passed into that consciousness as its absolute fulness, the object of Christian revelation is realised. Such is the view of the gospel before us.

(*m*). The subject presents a variety of embarrassing circumstances, so that it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Though the balance of evidence is clearly against the gospel's authenticity, it is not easy to account for the early belief of its Johannine origin otherwise than by assuming that it arose in the circle of John's disciples about Ephesus, under influences posterior to that apostle. A severance of Gentile from Jewish Christianity had been effected by Paul in the churches of Asia Minor. The free principles of this apostle had diffused a different atmosphere about our author. But something more than Paulinism is needed to account for a gospel so peculiar. The philosophy of Philo and of Alexandria generally, had imbued the minds of cultivated Gentiles in Asia Minor, at least in its cities. The leaven of Gnosticism was fermenting. Montanism with its enthusiastic spirit had appeared. If therefore a disciple of John wrote the gospel, he had learnt more than his master. He had studied some of the highest problems, and believed that he could in-

corporate the philosophy of the time with Christianity. His intellect was speculative and far-reaching. How much he owed to John himself cannot be ascertained; it would be hazardous to assert that he owed nothing. It is not probable that the recorded acts of Jesus, or all the speeches put into his mouth, are pure invention. They rest on a historical substratum small enough to justify the general proposition that the gospel presents *ideas* not *facts*; that it is Gnostic and docetic, not historic. An immediate disciple of John himself can hardly have written the gospel, because it is so anti-jewish and Hellenic. If it proceeded from one of those presbyters in Asia Minor of whom Irenaeus speaks as being closely connected with John, the fact of its being regarded the apostle's could be more easily explained. In that case, it might be called a product of the Johannine spirit *indirectly*, originating in the sphere of the apostle's labours under different influences. But the presbyter of Asia Minor must have been baptized with a larger spirit than that of John the apostle. Jewish narrowness must have given place to a wide catholicity. In fact, he must have had a philosophic reflectiveness unlike the fiery energy of the apostle—a profound calmness of mind capable of discussing the greatest spiritual problems.

It is singular that the author should have remained in miraculous concealment, when we look at the fact from a modern stand-point. That the spirit which was elevated so far above his contemporaries as to present aspects of Christ and his religion fitted to attract humanity in all future time, should continue unknown, seems strange to us. But authorship then was a different thing. Had the gospel appeared with the writer's name, it would probably have failed in its object; and therefore it was composed in a way to convey the impression that it proceeded from an apostle specially beloved by the Master and admitted to his secret thoughts.

The reception of the work was not very rapid, for it

seems to have existed for a time before it was much known, the tradition of its Johannine origin gradually passing from an *indirect* to a *direct* form and contributing to its authority. The increasing esteem that gathered round it was aided by the fact that most of the oldest witnesses in its favour received their theological culture in or from Rome. There Tatian lived for years. Thence proceeded the doctrines of Heracleon and Ptolemy. Thence the Gallic churches, with Irenaeus, received their traditions. Apollinaris and Theophilus are the only exceptions. Perhaps its reception was first fixed and determined at Rome. Taken, as we may conjecture, from Asia Minor to Rome soon after its composition, with a hazy curtain of Johannine tradition overhanging it, it spread into other countries and churches especially Asia Minor. The force of circumstances and the mental atmosphere of the day aided its general adoption, because the Judaic Christianity of the early apostles was waxing old and ready to die. If the new religion were to endure, it must cease to be an offshoot of Judaism and stand on an independent basis, which it could only do by grafting itself on the higher instincts of spiritual humanity, and appropriating the speculative element of the Hellenic mind. It must be at once abstract and practical. The Logos as God's eternal reason must be embodied in a man, that the world looking to the revelation of the divine, might inquire, wonder, and adore.

The date already specified (A.D. 150) agrees with the character of the times. Gnosticism had not become odious to the Church, and therefore the moderate Gnosticism of the gospel would find a point of contact in the contemporaneous consciousness. Montanism, with its doctrine of the paraclete, was not yet fully developed, but was rather in its early stage, else the gospel would not have favoured so unguardedly the fundamental principle that the Holy Spirit continues the work of Christ

in the Church. This suits the date A.D. 150 or the time of Justin, whose view of the Logos comes nearest the Johannine.

There is a way of looking at these conscious fictions which does great injustice to their authors, and is equally foreign to the Oriental mind. They were usual both before and after Christ's coming. The books of Daniel and Ecclesiastes are examples. Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature presents many specimens. The Clementine homilies, the book of Enoch, and others, are similar. The motives of the writers were good. No deliberate fraud was meditated; at least in our sense of the word. It was a common practice to put forth a work under the cover of a well-known name, to procure its readier acceptance. Such was the method in which good men often conveyed their sentiments and taught the public. It is not our Western one, nor does it fall in with modern notions of rigid morality. Being theirs however, it is but fair to judge them from their own point of view. The end was unexceptionable; the means adopted were in harmony with the prevailing notions of the time. Had the parties believed these means to be wrong or immoral, they would not have adopted them. In their eyes, they were right and pertinent. It should also be observed, that the authors had no idea of the use that would be made of their compositions, by a rigid separation of them into canonical and uncanonical; the former to be taken as an infallible standard of faith, the latter not. Neither apostles nor evangelists wrote as conscious organs of a dictating or superintending Spirit; nor did they suppose themselves so far elevated above other spiritual men as to claim for their writing a divine authority. They worked in the interests of truth, and as they thought they might best promote it.

The value of a book does not depend essentially on the person that wrote it. It does not depend on his being an eye-witness of the events described, or a hearer of

the words recorded, except it profess to be history; and even then, human infirmity will probably deteriorate some of its pages. The fourth gospel would certainly have greater authority, if it had been written by an apostle and eye-witness. Its christology is ideal and elevated; and though it be not historically exact, there is substantial truth in it. Jesus Christ is the life and light of men. So far as our hearts and lives enter into high-fellowship with him, as his spirit penetrates ours, do we become what God intends us to be, true Christians. Christianity is not a creed but a life; while therefore we accept the Son of God as our life, and are baptized with his spirit, we are lifted above the metaphysical distinctions even of the most conspicuous writers in sacred history. This great unknown, in departing from apostolic tradition, teaches us to rise above it. He has seized the spirit of Christ better than any apostle; and if like him we ascend through their material setting to ideas that bring us into close contact with the divine ideal of purity to mankind—the moral image of the loving Father who gave him to be their sacrifice—we shall have a faith superior to that which lives in the visible and miraculous.

(*n*). The preceding observations make it unnecessary to examine a few passages, which are cited to prove that the work was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or so soon after as to be still in the time of the apostle. It is inconclusive to found an argument for early composition, on the present tense in chapter v. 2, 'There *is* at Jerusalem by the sheep gate, a pool *having* five porches,' as though the pool Bethesda still existed, and the porches were standing. Eusebius and Jerome speak of the pool as well known in their times, so that the Romans did not destroy it by causing its drainage; and it is natural for the position of it to be described, *at the sheep* gate, though the gate had been destroyed. Vespasian did not demolish everything in the city. He

allowed several things to remain, for the use of the garrison which was to be stationed there; may not these porticoes, so convenient to bathers, have been permitted to stand? The evidence of xxi. 18 is not valid in favour of the early composition. How, it is asked, could John, or some disciple of his who added the last chapter, have omitted to refer in this place to the death of Peter, which had happened some thirty years before? We answer, any remark about that apostle's crucifixion thirty years before would have been superfluous, because the fact was well known.

In proof of the opinion that the gospel was not written till the close of the first century, Hug adduces such passages as xi. 18; xviii. 1; xix. 41; where the imperfect tense *was* is applied to localities connected with Jerusalem.[1] But it is common to use the imperfect tense when things continue in the same state as before.

It is surprising that these insignificant particulars, bearing on the date of the gospel, should be gravely urged. If the question cannot be decided without them, it is incapable of solution.

THE IMMEDIATE OCCASION AND OBJECT.

We attribute no polemic design to the author, no specific antagonism to contemporaneous sects or persons. It is very unlikely that the gospel was composed against Cerinthus and the Nicolaitanes, Marcion and the Valentinians, as Irenaeus states. Nor do we venture to assert that it made its appearance in the interests of the paschal controversy, as Baur and others intimate. Had it come forth in direct opposition to any of the leading movements of the day, to the Valentinians, the Montanists, the Quartodecimans, to any of the Gnostic

[1] Einleitung in die Schriften des neuen Testaments, zweyter Theil, vierte Auflage, p. 232.

sects, or even to the prevailing notions of the catholic Church antagonistic to all these, it would not have been so soon or so generally accepted. The author's object is given by himself in xx. 31, viz. that his readers might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that through believing they might have eternal life in his name. These two propositions *Jesus the Son of God, life in his name*, are seen in the gospel throughout. They include the fundamental idea that Christianity is the absolute religion—an idea which other New Testament writers have, without giving it the same prominence or putting it at the head of a treatise and making it run through all its individual doctrines. The idea is here inculcated with constant relation to Judaism and heathenism, especially the former, making the teaching of the work at once apologetic and polemic, so that it gives *the history of religion* as well as what *religion itself is*, by showing the present and permanent nature of Christianity in opposition to Mosaism and polytheism. Bearing in mind this general design, the author, surrounded by certain circumstances, thought it desirable to be mediating and comprehensive. Instead of presenting an opposing front to the conflicting elements of the spiritual world, he wished to supply what they seemed to lack and to embrace them all within Christianity, giving a prominent place to love as the fulfilment of law. The principle of comprehension and mediation is seen in various parts. Thus in the 6th chapter, at the fifty-third and following verses, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man is strongly insisted on, while immediately after it is stated, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.' Again, in x. 29 we read, 'My Father which gave them me is greater than all;' but it is added, 'I and my Father are one;' and in xiv. 28, 'My Father is greater than I.' The work satisfied the deepest wants of the age. Even when it counteracted, instead of

meeting some tendency, it nurtured a speculation that exalts and purifies. It propounded a christology which the church might confidently rest upon. The Valentinians, with their aeons and syzygies, would accept it. The Montanists would welcome its announcement of the paraclete, who was to teach the doctrines which Christ could not promulgate to unprepared disciples. The catholic Church saw in it a gospel purer, deeper, more spiritual and comprehensive than the synoptical — a Gnostic Christianity satisfying the desires of the theosophic through its sublime precepts as well as its mysterious apprehension of the divine nature, soaring above the new doctrines of which heretics and schismatics boasted. Even the Quartodecimans could accept it without difficulty, because they were able to explain it in harmony with their practices, as far as its anti-jewish tone seemed to oppose them, since it presented many aspects of attractive interest. But this party was clearly a minority. And though John must have worked at Ephesus in their direction, the theosophic tendencies of the time showed them that they could not hope to retard the progress of a freer Christianity separating itself entirely from that primitive type preached by the twelve apostles. Thus Paulinism regained and enlarged its influence in a region where it had been planted; its characteristics suiting the mental atmosphere, not only of Asia Minor, but of the cultivated world. The fourth gospel reaching higher and penetrating deeper even than Paulinism, was welcomed by the catholic Church and the sects, as the exposition of a revelation to which they could attach their intellectual search and moral aspiring, or from which they might develop cosmogonical and mythological processes. That the Logos was embodied in a real man—here was intellectual leaven for that fermentation which worked in the schools of the Gnostics, transforming abstract neuters into mythological masculines. The direction and restraint given

to gnosis by the writer were most salutary. Nor was it only to the metaphysical and cultivated that the work came with acceptance. What comfort to souls wearied with the world, or restless amid the agitations of the period, would flow from the sublime and pathetic discourses of the Saviour, which he addressed to the disciples immediately before he left them to battle with sin in the world, not alone, for the Comforter would be with them. Here Christianity appears as the religion of the absolute, in opposition to Judaism and heathenism —a complete and final religion, intended for humanity. 'The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' 'The true light, coming into the world, enlighteneth every man.'

It is unnecessary to discuss the various hypotheses propounded respecting the evangelist's purpose, because they assume the Johannine authorship. Many have thought that the apostle wrote with the view of supplying things wanting in the synoptical gospels; an opinion as old at least as Eusebius, who has a tradition to the effect that the apostle being shown the other three approved of them and afterwards wrote his own work by the entreaty of friends, to complete what was wanting in his predecessors'. Like many other stories, this is baseless. It is likely enough that the fourth evangelist saw the three gospels; indeed marks of his acquaintance with them are not wanting; but that he wrote with the view of supplementing them, is incorrect. If he had any purpose relating to them, it was to supersede their contents. The gospel bears internal evidence of its originality, and is complete in itself, having no discernible supplementary aspect.

INTEGRITY.

The 21st chapter, which is obviously a supplement, did not proceed from the writer of the gospel. In-

stead of the whole chapter, some regard the last verse alone as spurious, in which they have the support of ℵ *a prima manu*, also several scholia. Other critics begin the appendix-part in the twenty-fourth verse with the words 'and we know that,' &c. The hyperbolical nature of the twenty-fifth verse accounts for its being suspected; and the last part of the twenty-fourth cannot be separated from the preceding one. Meyer asserts that the chapter does not fall with the spurious conclusion; we agree with Lücke in holding that it does. The following considerations show that the chapter was not written by the evangelist himself.

1. The gospel concludes with the 20th chapter, as the last two verses prove. Is it likely that the author would resume his pen? If he did, he would have removed those verses.

2. The commencement of the 21st chapter, 'After these things,' &c. &c., is unsuitable to the last two verses of the 20th, whose contents reject the reference of 'these things' to them. The pronoun rendered 'these things' can only allude to the twenty-sixth and twenty-ninth verses of the 20th chapter, which is so awkward as to show a different writer for the 21st, who did not wish to alter the conclusion of the work in xx. 30, 31.

3. The twenty-fourth verse, which is copied from xix. 35, betrays, in the use of the plural *we* know, the distinctness of the writer from the evangelist. Or if the plural stand simply for the singular, what is the meaning of a writer saying at the same time of himself, 'The disciple that wrote these things,' and 'We know that his testimony is true?' Besides, the phrases, 'testify of these things,' 'wrote these things,' apparently refer to the preceding work, to chapters i.–xx., which is an unsuitable allusion for a simple pronoun to bear. If it be thought that the 'these things' of xxi. 24 include the 21st chapter also because of the commencing words

of xxi. 25, 'There are also other things,' we admit the reference; but the assignment of the additional chapter to the apostle's attestation is awkward, and merely imitated from the preceding writer.

4. After the 20th chapter, none could have expected from the same writer a third appearance of the risen Jesus; since we read in the thirtieth verse, that many other *proofs*[1] of his resurrection had been given to the disciples, which are not in the present book. Could the author therefore record another?

5. The discourse between Peter and Jesus is essentially different from that held with Thomas, because it descends to individual relations and circumstances, without passing into general ideas after the evangelist's manner.

6. 'The sons of Zebedee,' in the second verse, is the language of the synoptists, not of the fourth gospel. And Peter is assigned a pre-eminence which the whole work intentionally ignores. The beloved disciple is also described as a fisherman, a fact omitted by the evangelist, who represents him as a person of distinction, and appears to transfer his abode from Galilee to Jerusalem.

7. The visible return of Jesus (*till I come*, verse 22) is unlike the evangelist, who resolves that return into the paraclete's presence.

8. The scene is Galilee, of which there is no mention in the previous record of the appearances of the risen one. The evangelist usually specifies Galilee when Jesus and his disciples are there (i. 43; iv. 3, 43; vi. 1; vii. 1); he does not say here that they went to that district.

9. The explanation given in xxi. 20, 'which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?' is superfluous from one who had written xiii. 25.

[1] σημεῖα.

10. One purpose of the writer of this chapter discovers itself in the relation between the apostles Peter and John. To the former is assigned the headship of the Church, 'feed my sheep;' the latter is a spiritual mediator between the Lord and his Church, 'that he tarry till I come.' The honour of martyrdom belongs to the one; that of calm, continued spiritual existence to the other. But this purpose is only subordinate to the more general one, the attestation of the gospel by referring it to an apostle. It is probable that the work was at first undervalued by Jewish-christians, because of the inferior position which Peter occupies in it. Hence the author of the appendix brings Peter into prominence, yet without disparagement to John, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

11. The narrative has a minuteness of detail and a specification of numbers which show a striving after vividness without attaining it. The clearness and generality of the evangelist's manner are absent.

12. The language differs from that of the gospel. Thus we find ἔρχεσθαι σύν (3) for ἀκολουθεῖν; νῦν put after the verb (10), but precedes the imperative elsewhere; φέρειν instead of ἄγειν (18); πρωΐας γενομένης (4) for πρωΐ; ὑπάγω with the infinitive (3); παιδία (5) for τέκνα; ὁ μαρτυρῶν (24) for ὁ μεμαρτυρηκώς; ἰσχύειν (6) for δύνασθαι; ἐπενδύτης (7) for ἱμάτιον or χιτών; ἐπιστραφείς (20) for στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω; στῆναι εἰς (4) for ἐπί; ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν for ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν (14); and οἶμαι (25), αἰγιαλός, ἁλιεύειν, ἀποβαίνειν, ἀριστᾶν, βόσκειν, γηράσκειν, ἐξετάζειν, ζωννύναι, κατὰ distributively, μακράν, πῆχυς, ποιμαίνειν, προσφάγιον, σύρειν, τολμᾶν are peculiar to the chapter. Τί πρός σε seems to be taken from Matt. xxvii. 4.

These considerations sufficiently show another hand than the evangelist's. Difference of time, without difference of authorship, will not account for the characteristics of the chapter. Not merely is the gospel rati-

fied, but added to in another spirit. And the idea that the same person attested his own work at a later period of life, is a modern hypothesis. Peter and John were both dead when verses 19–23 were written. Probably a Jewish-christian before the end of the second century wrote the supplement. No MS. is so ancient as to want it. Perhaps several small interpolations in the gospel have proceeded from the same hand. Expressions occur here and there which do not suit their context nor the general spirit of the work. Were the author consistent with himself, we might assign various clauses and verses to a later hand, perhaps to that which wrote the 21st chapter, where the Jewish-christian point of view respecting the Lord's coming is taken; such as v. 28, 29; the clause 'and I will raise him up at the last day,' in vi. 40, 44; and 'at the last day,' vi. 39; xii. 48; but this assumption of Scholten's is somewhat arbitrary.

Another part of the gospel, whose authenticity is justly questioned, is vii. 53–viii. 11.

1. The paragraph is found in upwards of three hundred MSS., among which are the uncial D. F. G. H. K. E. M. S. U. It is marked with an asterisk or obelus in more than fifty. Several of the copies that have it (i. 19, 20, &c.) put it at the end of the gospel. Others put a part there, i.e. viii. 3–11. Others have it after John vii. 36, or Luke xxi. 38 (13, 69, 124, 346). Jerome states that it was in many Greek and Latin MSS. in his day.

2. Of versions it is in some MSS. of the old Latin, such as the Codex Colbertinus; in the Vulgate, Ethiopic, Jerusalem, Syriac, &c.

3. It is mentioned by Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Sedulius, Leo, Chrysologus, Cassiodorus.

On the other hand, it is wanting in ℵ, A. B. C. L. T. X. Δ, in more than fifty cursive copies, and thirty lectionaries. That A. wanted it is probable, because the two

leaves deficient here could not have contained the portion. It should also be remarked that C. is defective from vi. 50 to viii. 12, but must have wanted it. In L. and Δ the blank space is not large enough to contain the piece. Those codices that have it with asterisks or obeli evidence so far against it. The scholion of cod. 1 observes that it is wanting in most copies; and Euthymius says it is not in the most accurate.

It is not in the Peshito (MSS. and oldest editions), in the Philoxenian, the old Latin (codd. Vercellensis, Brixianus, &c.), the Memphitic, Thebaic, Armenian, and Gothic.

Of the fathers, it is passed over by Cyprian, Tertullian, Origen, Apollinaris, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Basil, Juvencus, Nonnus, Cosmas, Theophylact, &c.

It must be allowed that the silence of some of the fathers is unimportant, because the subject may not have led them to speak of the paragraph. This applies to Origen. But the silence of Cyprian and Tertullian is weighty, because both wrote on subjects where it would have been peculiarly appropriate. Granville Penn puts the case forcibly with regard to Tertullian, who wrote a book on chastity.[1]

It was not in Ammonius's Harmony, and therefore not in the MSS. he had. The codices which have the section as G. M., and the Ammonian numbers in the margin, do not mark it with any special number.

Much of the suspicion against the passage would be removed, if Augustine's method of accounting for its omission could be believed, viz. the fear of some, that the liberty of indulging in sin apparently afforded by it might be countenanced. Nicon gives this reason for the Armenians excluding it. But the cause in question could not have operated uniformly among Greeks and

[1] See Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, pp. 267, 268.

Latins. Critical reasons may have led to its rejection as well as doctrinal ones. The only thing favourable to Augustine's assertion is, that several copies omit no more than viii. 3–11. Matthaei[1] has laboured unsuccessfully to explain Chrysostom's silence consistently with his knowledge of the paragraph; for though the pious orator may have deemed it inexpedient to expound the story before a voluptuous people, it was read before his time. It cannot be shown that the Greek church had it in their copies before the fifth century; or the Latins before the fourth. It came from the West into the East, not later than the fifth century. The oldest codex that has it is D. of the sixth century. There are three principal readings of the passage, which differ considerably from one another as Griesbach gives them. The text is very unsettled, not owing to caprice, but because there were original varieties—a circumstance adverse to the genuineness of the paragraph.

External evidence is unfavourable to the acceptance of the verses as an original part of the gospel. Hence Lachmann and Tischendorf expunge them.

Internal evidence is on the same side. The difficulties inherent in the paragraph are sufficient to cause its rejection.

1. The context is against it. The paragraph is introduced abruptly, without any proper connection with what precedes; and it is also dissociated from the subsequent context. If it be omitted, unity is restored. The first verse is peculiarly awkward; 'Every one went unto his own house,' which must mean, either that every one of the Sanhedrists had gone to his home, or that each one of the people had retired for the night. The former sense is improbable; the latter, which seems to be favoured by the first and second verses, is remarkable, because the feast was now past.

[1] Evangelium secundum Joannem, Graece et Latine, Appendix i.

2. The difficulties of interpretation are so great that Lücke and De Wette confess their inability to resolve them.

(*a*). The scribes and Pharisees must either have acted by authority of the Sanhedrim, or in their private capacity. If the former, they would not have allowed the woman afterwards to escape, but have taken her before those in whose name she had been apprehended. If the latter, how could they say, 'Moses commanded *us*,' &c., as if they were official judges entrusted with the execution of the law? The account leaves it uncertain whether the scribes and Pharisees were witnesses and accusers, or judges.

(*b*). In the Pentateuch, the punishment of death is enjoined for adultery (Levit. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 23); and the Talmud specifies *strangulation* as the mode. Here stoning is said to be the punishment. Thus another difficulty arises, of which all the solutions yet proposed are unsatisfactory.

(*c*). No adequate motive can be assigned, why the scribes and Pharisees employed the case for embarrassing Christ and extracting a ground of accusation against him. Here again many have tried to explain the reason; but there is great difficulty in discovering it.

(*d*). The style and language of the paragraph differ from the rest of the gospel. Thus we find δέ, whereas the evangelist has usually οὖν; ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος instead of ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος; ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν is derived from the synoptists; ὄρθρου instead of πρωΐ or πρωΐας γενομένης; παρεγένετο, instead of ἀνέβη or ἔρχεσθαι, εἰς; πᾶς ὁ λαός for ὄχλος; οἱ γραμματεῖς is never used by the evangelist; καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς is not like his diction; κατειλημμένην is used in a sense in which he does not employ the verb; ἐν μέσῳ ἱστάναι instead of εἰς τὸ μέσον; ἐνετείλατο for γέγραπται, ἔγραψεν, γεγραμμένον ἐστί. The pronoun ἡμῖν should be after the verb, not before it; λιθοβολεῖσθαι instead of

λιθάζειν; ἔγραφεν is unlike the evangelist's language; ἐπέμενον, ἐρωτῶντες, ἀναμάρτητος, συνείδησις, ἀνακύπτειν, κατακύπτειν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, εἷς καθ' εἷς, ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, καθίσας, κατήγορος, μοιχεία, μοιχεύειν, πρεσβύτερος, are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα; ἐσχάτων is an unsuitable antithesis to πρεσβυτέρων; πλήν instead of εἰ μή; κατέκρινεν for ἔκρινεν. The use of ἕως as a preposition, of ἵστημι transitively, of οἶκος for *a house* not the temple, is singular. So many phrases unlike those of the evangelist are crowded into the verses, that it would be strange if they proceeded from him. The manner of the synoptists, not that of the fourth gospel, appears.

Thus internal evidence is as adverse to the genuineness as the external. The disjointed nature of the preceding and succeeding context, the difficulties inherent in the fifth and following verses, the language and style show another author.

Some have thought that it was taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews, because Eusebius speaks of a story in that work respecting a woman accused before Jesus of many sins. It is probable that the source of the paragraph was there. Strauss supposes that it is another form of the story respecting the sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee, which is contained in Luke vii.; but the term *accused* applied to the woman does not suit the female introduced there. Hitzig[1] thinks, that Mark wrote the paragraph; Schulz assigns it to Luke. The simple truthfulness of the story stamps it with credibility, and points to early evangelical tradition as its source. It is not certain where it was first written, or when. We may acquiesce in the opinion that the Gospel according to the Hebrews contained the earliest record of it.

[1] Ueber Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften, p. 205, *et seq.*

STYLE AND DICTION.

The style is characterised by simplicity, softness, and ease. It is plain without elegance, and tolerably free from Hebraisms. The diction is comparatively pure. It has been pronounced indeed strongly Hebraic; but all Hellenistic Greek has a Hebrew basis; and the gospel has less colouring of that sort than many parts of the New Testament. Genuine Greek expressions, and the peculiar constructions of classical Greek, are by no means rare. The Hebraised nature of the style appears most from the manner in which sentences are connected. Instead of the language being periodic, like that of Paul who puts his materials in a dialectic form, the fourth evangelist exhibits the evangelical history with great simplicity, placing the successive ideas in juxtaposition rather than logical connection. Verses and sentences are usually connected by the particles καί, οὖν, and δέ. It is this method which gives his style a Hebraic character, while the Greek is predominant in Paul, because he writes in a periodic form. Yet the gospel is written in good Hellenic Greek, though inferior in some respects to that of Luke.

The author's stock of words was not copious. Hence variety of diction does not appear. The same terms and phrases are repeated, indicating a paucity of linguistic materials. His mastery of Greek was not great, though he employs appropriate terms to express his ideas. And it was not always easy to find suitable words for the profound ideas waiting to be embodied.

1. ἀμὴν is doubled at the beginning of a discourse, i. 52, &c.; twenty-five times in all.

2. In quotations from the Old Testament, ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος or ἡ γραφή, xii. 38; xiii. 18; xv. 25; xvii. 12; xviii. 9; xix. 24, 36.

3. ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος is added to the name Θωμᾶς, xi. 16; xx. 24; xxi. 2.

4. John the Baptist has not *βαπτιστής* annexed to his name, as in the other evangelists.

5. *θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος*, with reference to the sea of Galilee, vi. 1; xxi. 1.

6. *ἴδε* not *ἰδού*, i. 29, 36, 47, 48; iii. 26; v. 14; vii. 26, 52; xi. 3, 35, 36; xii. 19; xvi. 29; xviii. 21; xix. 4, 5, 14. In xix. 26, 27 *ἴδε* is probably the right reading. The other evangelists employ *ἰδού* much oftener than *ἴδε*.

7. *μετὰ ταῦτα* and *μετὰ τοῦτο* in general designations of time, ii. 12; iii. 22; v. 1, 14; vi. 1; vii. 1; xi. 7; xiii. 7; xix. 28, 38; xxi. 1. Matthew never uses either; Mark has *μετὰ ταῦτα* once, and Luke five times.

8. *μέντοι*, iv. 27; vii. 13; xii. 42; xx. 5; xxi. 4. Not in the other gospels.

9. *οὐδέν* is put after the verb, iii. 27; viii. 28; x. 41; xviii. 20; xxi. 3. This is rare in the other evangelists.

10. *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* (not *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι*), v. 43; x. 25; xii. 13, 14, 26, &c.

11. The use of the optative is discarded. The reading of the received text has it once, but is incorrect (xiii. 24).

12. *τὴν ψυχὴν τιθέναι*, x. 11, 15, 17; xiii. 37, 38; xv. 13. Matthew and Mark have *τὴν ψυχὴν δοῦναι*.

13. *ὄχλος* in the singular is always used, except once. The other evangelists have both singular and plural, the latter oftener.

14. *παροιμία* for the *παραβολή* of the synoptists, x. 6; xvi. 25, 29.

15. *τὰ ἴδια*, *home* or *dwelling*, i. 11; xvi. 32; xix. 27.

16. *πιάζειν*, vii. 30, 32, 44; viii. 20; x. 39; xi. 57; xxi. 3, 10.

17. *θεωρεῖν*, twenty-three times. In Matthew twice, Mark six times, and Luke seven times.

18. Only the perfect *ἑώρακα* of *ὁρᾶν* is used. Matthew and Mark never have this tense; Luke has it three times.

19. The use of *οὖν* as a connecting particle is far more

frequent than in the other gospels. Indeed it occurs as often in the fourth as in the other three united. Generally in narrative.

20. ἀλλ' ἵνα together, i. 8, 31; iii. 17; ix. 3; xi. 52; xii. 9, 47; xiii. 18; xiv. 31; xv. 25; xvii. 15; xviii. 28. Mark has the phrase once, xiv. 49. ἵνα with the subjunctive supplies the place of the infinitive in classic Greek.

21. The same expressions are frequently repeated immediately after, in the same sentence, as i. 7, 8, 14; iii. 11, 17, 34; v. 31–39, 44–47; viii. 13, 14, 18; x. 17, 18; xvii. 6; xviii. 15, 16; xix. 35; xxi. 24.

22. Connected with this repetition, and to give emphasis to the ideas, is the use of the demonstrative pronouns οὗτος, vi. 46; vii. 18; xv. 5; and ἐκεῖνος, i. 18, 33; v. 11, 37; x. 1; xii. 48; xiv. 21, 26; xv. 26; when a clause has separated the subject and the verb.

23. The writer expresses the same idea positively and negatively, i. 7, 8, 20; iii. 15, 17, 20; iv. 42; v. 24; viii. 35; x. 28; xv. 5–7.

24. Allusions to what had been already related are common, as in iv. 54; vi. 23, 71; vii. 50; x. 40; xviii. 14, 26; xix. 39; xxi. 14, 20.

25. The author frequently subjoins explanatory remarks, as i. 39, 42, 43, &c. &c.

26. The following are peculiar constructions: ποιήσατε ἀναπεσεῖν—ἀνέπεσαν οὖν, vi. 10. συναγάγετε τὰ κλάσματα—συνήγαγον οὖν, vi. 12, 13. εἱστήκει κλαίουσα—ὡς οὖν ἔκλαιεν, xx. 11. βάλετε—ἔβαλον οὖν, xxi. 6. τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν—καὶ τοῦτο εἰπών, xxi. 19.

A series of leading terms and phrases is peculiar to the writer, expressing the chief ideas of his theology. These constitute his distinctive terminology.

27. ὁ λόγος, i. 1–14; ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, i. 14, 18; iii. 16, 18. δόξα is attributed to the Word, i. 14; ii. 11; xii. 41; xvii. 5, 22.

28. τὸ φῶς, i. 4, 5, 7–9; iii. 19–21; viii. 12; ix. 5; xi. 9, 10; xii. 36, 46.

29. ἡ ἀλήθεια, i. 14, 17; iii. 21; iv. 23, 24; v. 33; viii. 32, 40, 44–46; xiv. 6; xvi. 7, 13; xvii. 17, 19; xviii. 37, 38.

30. ἡ ἀγάπη, v. 42; xiii. 35; xv. 9, 10, 13; xvii. 26.

31. ἡ σκοτία, i. 5; vi. 17; viii. 12; xii. 35, 46; xx. 1.

32. ὁ κόσμος, seventy-eight times. Matthew has it nine times; Mark and Luke each thrice.

33. ἁμαρτία, sixteen times. Matthew has it seven times; Mark, six; and Luke, eleven times.

34. σάρξ, i. 13, 14; iii. 6; vi. 51, 55, 63; viii. 15; xvii. 2.

35. παράκλητος, xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7; τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, xiv. 17 xv. 26; xvi. 13.

36. τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. 12; xi. 52.

37. ζωὴ αἰώνιος, fifteen times. Three times in Matthew, twice in Mark, and three times in Luke.

38. φανερόω, i. 31; ii. 11; iii. 21; vii. 4; ix. 3; xvii. 6; xxi. 1, 14.

39. κρίνειν, nineteen times; κρίσις, eleven times.

40. πιστεύειν is very frequent, commonly followed by εἰς.

41. ζωοποιεῖν, v. 21; vi. 63.

42. ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ, παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, viii. 42; xiii. 3; xvi. 27, 28, 30; xvii. 8.

43. ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον, εἰς τὰ ἴδια, i. 9, 11; iii. 19; vi. 14; ix. 39, κ.τ.λ.

44. καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, i. 32; iii. 13; vi. 33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58.

45. αἴρειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, i. 29.

46. ζωὴν διδόναι τῷ κόσμῳ, vi. 33.

47. περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, xi. 9, and its opposite ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ or ἐν τῇ νυκτί, viii. 12; xi. 10; xii. 35.

48. γεννηθῆναι ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἄνωθεν, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, i. 13; iii. 3; iii. 5–8.

49. ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, or without the pronoun, xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11.

50. ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀλλήλους, viii. 42;

xiii. 34; xiv. 15, 21, 23, 24, 28, 31; xv. 12, 17; xxi. 15, 16.

51. ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; vii. 37; xi. 24; xii. 48.

52. μένειν ἐν—Χριστῷ, τῷ λόγῳ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, viii. 31; xiv. 10; xv. 4–7, 9, 10.

53. εἶναι ἐκ or εἶναι ἐν metaphorically, iii. 31; vii. 17, 22; viii. 23, κ. τ. λ.

54. ἀνάστασις ζωῆς, κρίσεως, v. 29; xi. 25.

55. μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, iii. 11, 32, 33; v. 31, 32, 34, 36; viii. 13, 14. μαρτυρέω is very frequent; whereas it occurs but once in Matthew, and once in Luke.

The following phrases and words are peculiar to the fourth gospel:—

ἀλλαχόθεν, ἀλόη, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀνθρακιά, ἀντλεῖν, ἄντλημα, ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπε, ἀποσυνάγωγος, ἄρραφος, ἀρχιτρίκλινος, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου, βάϊον, βιβρώσκειν, γενετή, γέρων, γλωσσόκομον, δακρύειν, δειλιᾶν, διαζωννύναι, δίδυμος, ἐγκαίνια, ἔθνος applied to the people of Israel, ἐκνεύειν, ἐμπόριον, ἐμφυσᾶν, ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐκ (ἀπὸ) Θεοῦ, ἐξυπνίζειν, ἐπάρατος, ἐπιχρίειν; ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκ Θεοῦ; ἤπερ, ἧλος, θεοσεβής, θήκη, θρέμματα, εἶμι (?), κέδρος, κειρίαι, κέρμα, κερματιστής, κηπουρός, κλῆμα, κοίμησις, κολυμβήθρα, κομψός, κομψότερον, κρίθινος, ὁ κύριος vocative, λέντιον, λίτρα, λόγχη, μεσοῦν, μεσάζειν, Μεσσίας, μετρητής, μίγμα, μονή, μονογενής of the Son of God, νιπτήρ, νύσσειν, ὄζειν, ὀνάριον, ὁσδήποτε or οἱοσδήποτε, οὐκοῦν, ὀψάριον, πενθερός, περιδέειν, πέτρος, πότερον, προβατική, προσαίτης, προσκυνητής, πρῶτός μου, πρῶτος ὑμῶν, πτέρνα, πτύσμα, ῥέειν, Ῥωμαϊστί, σκέλος, σκηνοπηγία, συγχρῆσθαι, συμμαθητής, συνεισέρχεσθαι, τεταρταῖος, τετράμηνος, τίτλος, ὑδρία, ὑφαντός, φανός, φραγέλλιον, χαμαί, χείμαρρος, χολᾶν, χωρὶς an adverb, ψωμίον.[1]

[1] See Zeller's Theologische Jahrbücher, vol. ii. p. 477, *et seq.*

QUOTATIONS.

JOHN.	
i. 23	Isaiah xl. 3.
*i. 51	Genesis xxviii. 12.
ii. 17	Psalm lxix. 9.
*iii. 14 . . .	Numbers xxi. 8, 9.
vi. 31 . . .	Psalm lxxviii. 24.
vi. 45 . . .	Isaiah liv. 13.
*vi. 49 . . .	Exodus xvi. 15.
*vii. 22 . . .	Leviticus xii. 3.
*vii. 38 . . .	Isaiah xliv. 3; lviii. 11.
*vii. 42 . . .	Psalm lxxxix. 4; cxxxii. 11; Micah v. 2.
*viii. 5 . . .	Leviticus xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.
viii. 17 . . .	Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15.
*ix. 31 . . .	Proverbs xv. 29.
x. 34	Psalm lxxxii. 6.
xii. 13 . . .	Psalm cxviii. 26.
xii. 15 . . .	Zechariah ix. 9.
*xii. 34 . . .	Psalm cx. 4; Daniel vii. 14.
xii. 38 . . .	Isaiah liii. 1.
xii. 40 . . .	Isaiah vi. 10.
xiii. 18 . . .	Psalm xli. 9.
xv. 25 . . .	Psalm lxix. 4; xxxv. 19.
*xvii. 12 . . .	Psalm xli. 10; cix. 8, 17.
xix. 24 . . .	Psalm xxii. 18.
*xix. 28, 29 . . .	Psalm lxix. 21.
xix. 36 . . .	Exodus xii. 46.
xix. 37 . . .	Zechariah xii. 10.

Those marked thus * are allusions or general references to passages in the Old Testament rather than quotations.

The quotations are commonly from the Septuagint. In no instance are they derived immediately from the Hebrew. It would have been otherwise had the writer been a Palestinian Jew. Sometimes they are literal, as in x. 34; xii. 38; xix. 24. Sometimes they are free, as in i. 23; vi. 31; xv. 25; xix. 36. In all cases the influence of the LXX. is visible, except in xiii. 18 and xix. 37. With respect to these it should be remembered that other Greek versions existed at the time besides the Alexandrian; and when the latter was obscure it was natural to prefer another. The peculiar reading in xix.

37 is also found in the Apocalypse, and in Justin independently of both. Bleek adduces xii. 40 as another passage in which the Hebrew was used. But the language of it is free and inexact, giving the sense not the words, and agreeing neither with the original nor with the Greek version. As far as we can see, the Hebrew does not lie unmistakably at the basis of the citation; though Bleek ventures to make the assertion. His argument for the use of the original resolves itself into the two quotations (xiii. 18; xix. 37), which admit of a satisfactory explanation on other grounds. It is hazardous for the advocates of the gospel's apostolic authenticity to build up the author's acquaintance with the Hebrew original and his consequent Jewish birth, on a foundation so slender.

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1863; Lücke, 1840–43; Meyer, 1862; Tholuck, 1857; Ewald, 1861, 1862; Hengstenberg, 1863; Luthardt, 1852, 1853; and Lampe, 1724–1726.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

RELATION TO JUDE'S EPISTLE.

EVERY READER sees that the 2nd chapter of this epistle, along with the commencement of the 3rd, bears a close resemblance to Jude's letter. What is the cause of the similarity? If the parallelism extends to words as well as ideas, it can only be explained by assuming that the one writer borrowed from the other. Peter made use of Jude's epistle, as the following considerations prove.

(*a*). The phraseology of Jude is ordinarily simpler than that of Peter, the latter being more artificial, rhetorical, and paraphrastic in the majority of cases.

JUDE.	2 PETER.
For there are certain men *crept in unawares*, who *were before of old ordained to this condemnation*, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God *into lasciviousness*, and *denying the only Lord God* and *our Lord Jesus Christ* (4).	But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you who *privily shall bring in* damnable heresies, even *denying the Lord that bought them* and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their *pernicious ways* (lasciviousnesses), &c. &c. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose *judgment* now *of a long time* lingereth not (ii. 1–3).
He hath reserved in everlasting *chains* under *darkness* (6).	Having cast them down to hell, delivered them into *chains of darkness to be reserved* unto judgment (ii. 4).

JUDE.	2 PETER.
Are set forth for an *example*, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire (7).	Reducing to ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an *ensample* unto those that after should live ungodly (ii. 6).

In ii. 6 the writer of Peter's second epistle, apparently feeling the improbability of the punishment still continuing, softened it away by confining himself to the historical fact. Had Jude followed Peter, it was sufficient for him to present the destruction of the Sodomites as an example.

Defile *the flesh* (8).	Walk after *the flesh* in the lust of uncleanness (ii. 10).
Speak evil of dignities (8).	Are not afraid *to speak evil of dignities* (ii. 10).
In those things *they corrupt themselves* (10).	Shall utterly perish *in their own corruption* (ii. 12).

In the last passage the change in Peter is made for emphasis.

Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error *of Balaam for reward*, and perished in the gainsaying of Core (11).	Following the way *of Balaam of Bosor*, who loved *the wages* of unrighteousness (ii. 15).
Their mouth speaketh *great swelling words* (16).	When they speak *great swelling words* of vanity (ii. 18).
But, beloved, *remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles* of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be *mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts* (17, 18).	This second epistle, *beloved*, &c. &c., that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets and of the commandment of us *the apostles*, &c. &c., knowing this first that there shall come *in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts*, &c. (iii. 1–3).[1]

Here the writer of second Peter has abridged the original.

These are *spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you,*	They count it pleasure to riot in the day time. *Spots* they are

[1] See the Greek table in De Wette's Einleitung, p. 357, *et seq.* The words italicised are commonly alike, or nearly so, in Greek.

JUDE.	2 PETER.
feeding themselves without fear; clouds they are *without water, carried about of winds* . . . . wandering stars, *to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever* (12, 13).	and blemishes, sporting themselves *with their own deceivings while they feast with you* . . . . wells *without water*, clouds that are carried with a tempest; *to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever* (ii. 13, 17).

(*b*). Expressions in Jude's epistle are changed in a singular way. Thus the word *sea-rocks* (Jude 12)[1] on which vessels are wrecked becomes in 2 Peter ii. 13 *spots*.[2] *Love-feasts* or *agapae* in Jude (12) become *deceits*[3] in 2 Peter ii. 13. The latter reading indeed is not certain, and Lachmann has the words alike; but Tischendorf favours the common reading, which is preferable. *Clouds without water* in Jude (12) is changed in 2 Peter (ii. 17) into the more usual *wells without water*.[4] These alterations shew Jude's originality, not the opposite as Dietlein and Schott argue.

(*c*). Passages in Peter are so indefinite in their language as to be obscure without the light of Jude's parallels. Thus 2 Peter ii. 4 is less distinct than the corresponding passage in Jude 6, because neither the particular sin of the angels nor their punishment is specified; whereas the latter says that 'they did not keep their dominions, but left their own habitation (heaven),' going after strange flesh, like Sodom and Gomorrha, i.e. the daughters of men. Peter employs the general word *to sin*, and avoids reference to the book of Enoch. In like manner 2 Peter ii. 11 is unintelligible apart from Jude 9. The language is general, and the reader cannot tell to what the writer alludes. Few of those who are well acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures could guess his meaning. Peter, taking it for granted that Jude's epistle was already known to his readers, contents himself with an indefinite statement to

[1] σπιλάδες. [2] σπῖλοι. [3] ἀγάπαι changed into ἀπάται.
[4] νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι altered into πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι.

the effect that there was a dispute between angels and fallen spirits: 'angels who are greater (than these self-willed blasphemers) in power and might, do not bring against them (angelic dignities) a railing accusation.' Jude, on the other hand, has a definite statement. We learn from him, that the dispute was between Michael and the devil about the body of Moses. Hence *angels* in Peter means *good angels*, Satan being included among *angelic dignities*. The plural number is employed to express in a more general way what Jude gives clearly in the singular.

(*d*). The opponents described and denounced in Jude are distinctly portrayed; the picture of them in 2 Peter is not clear. The former speaks of men atheistical in practice; the latter of false and vicious teachers. The liveliness, brevity, and close relation between the parts of the picture presented by Jude, show originality and independence; in amplifying, diverging into generalities, and contracting, Peter commonly loosens the coherence of ideas. This is vainly denied by Brückner, who twists everything with minute ingenuity into a clear, well-arranged, designed, and definite sequence on the part of the latter author, just as if 'these as natural brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things they understand not; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption' (ii. 12), were not a deterioration of Jude's 'these speak evil of those things which they know not; but what they know naturally as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves' (10); or the introduction of ii. 10, which apparently resumes ii. 1–3, though the coherence is vague, were as natural as the parallel in Jude 8; or as if the coherence of 2 Peter ii. 1 with the preceding context were as good or clear as that of Jude 4, where the adversaries are first mentioned.

(*e*). That Jude should have extracted a very brief epistle, energetic and powerful as it is, from a longer

one is less probable than that the author of the longer should have used the shorter. Were it otherwise, the question would arise—What utility could result from another sacred penman putting into the form of a distinct epistle a few verses similar to part of an epistle already existing?

The dependence of our epistle on Jude's consists with conscious freedom, as is shown by enlarging, contracting, adding, separating, combining, excluding. Though the original is sometimes simplified, it is oftener not. While the language is occasionally improved, it is not so in the majority of instances. (Compare the original in Jude 6 with 2 Peter ii. 4.)

In opposition to these arguments, Hengstenberg after Heydenreich adduces Jude 17, 18 compared with 2 Peter iii. 3: 'But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts.'—'Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts,' &c. Here, it is said, that Jude refers to a prophecy found in New Testament writings, before he wrote. The allusion cannot be to Acts xx. 29; to 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.; to 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.; or to 2 Thess. ii. 3, though these passages have been mentioned. It is to 2 Peter iii. 3.[1] Such is Hengstenberg's argument, which is inconclusive, because Jude's language is, words 'spoken before by the apostles,' which does not necessarily imply that they were written. Rather the reverse.

Another argument adduced by Heydenreich and adopted by Hengstenberg is, that errorists are said by Jude to have already appeared and endeavoured to get into the churches; whereas in Peter they are future, and his readers are forewarned against them.

[1] Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes u. s. w., vol. i. p. 19, note.

This statement overlooks the fact that the errorists are described in Peter, both as present and future. Besides, the picture of them given by the latter writer shows an advance. While Jude does no more than hint at their misleading influence (16, 19), it appears strongly in Peter (ii. 3, 4, 18). No definite object is assigned to the mockers of the last time in Jude; the second advent is the thing they scoff at. The former represents the errorists as denying God and Christ (4); the latter concentrates that denial on the power of the Redeemer Christ (ii. 1). The former presents them as agitators and deceivers; the latter as false teachers (ii. 1). Both writers point to the same persons generally; one borrowing from the other; but the variations show an advance under Peter's hands, not indeed in definiteness or consistence, but in time.

AUTHENTICITY.

Allusions to the epistle have been found in Clement's letter to the Corinthians: 'Noah preached repentance, and those who obeyed him were saved' (2 Peter ii. 5).[1] Here the argument is too slight. The words may have been taken from the Old Testament. In another place Clement has: 'On account of his hospitality and piety, Lot was saved out of Sodom, when all the surrounding region was condemned with fire and brimstone. God made it appear that He does not forsake those who trust in Him; but on the other hand those who turn aside He appoints to punishment and torment' (ii. 6–9).[2] It is possible that these words may refer to the passage in Peter, since a twofold moral is drawn from the history

[1] Νῶε ἐκήρυξε μετάνοιαν, καὶ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν.—Cap. vii.

[2] Διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λὼτ ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς καὶ θείου. πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, τοὺς δὲ ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ αἰκισμὸν τίθησι.—Cap. xi.

of Sodom and Gomorrah in both. But it is doubtful. In like manner, 'Let that be far from us which is written, Miserable are the double-minded, who are the doubtful in their mind, which say, "These things have we heard even in the time of our fathers; and, behold, we are grown old, and none of these things have happened to us."'[1] This passage can scarcely be considered an allusion to 2 Peter iii. 4. It may refer to James i. 5, &c.

Lardner and Dietlein find allusions in our epistle to Hermas as well as Clement: 'They are such as have believed, but through their doubting have forsaken the true way' (2 Peter ii. 15).[2] Here the resemblance is too slight to warrant the conclusion that Hermas referred to Peter. Again: 'The golden part are ye, who have escaped this world' (2 Peter ii. 20).[3] This passage does not prove the use of the epistle. But though the places themselves furnish no clear evidence of acquaintance with 2 Peter, Brückner thinks that their contexts make the thing probable. It does not seem so to us. The resemblance of the words that immediately follow in iii. 7, viz. 'they withdraw themselves and walk again after their wicked desires' to 2 Peter ii. 22; iii. 3; and of 'ye who dwell among them,'[4] to what is said of Lot in 2 Peter ii. 8, is insufficient to bring the passages quoted from Hermas iii. 7 and iv. 3 into conscious connection with 2 Peter ii. 15 and 20 respectively. It is also very improbable that i. 5, &c., where faith develops into love, floated before the mind of Hermas in writing iii. 8; or

[1] Πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὐτὴ ὅπου λέγει· ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τὴν ψυχήν, οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ γεγηράκαμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συμβέβηκεν.—Cap. xxiii.

[2] Ii sunt qui crediderunt quidem, dubitatione autem sua reliquerunt viam suam veram.—Lib. i. visio iii. 7.

[3] Aurea autem pars vos estis, qui effugistis seculum hoc.—*Ibid.* visio iv. 3.

[4] Lib. i. visio iv. 3.

that the account of the retribution for luxurious pleasures in the sixth similitude, made any allusion to 2 Peter ii.[1]

Nothing in Polycarp or Ignatius shows the use of our epistle. The same remark applies to Barnabas, since the use he makes of the words in Psalm xc. 4, though similar to that of 2 Peter iii. 8, is not coincident either verbally or in idea;[2] and the series of virtues enumerated in the second chapter is different from that given in 2 Peter i. 5, &c. Thus the apostolic fathers generally furnish no proof of their acquaintance with the second epistle of Peter; a fact which Dietlein's efforts to find correspondences, with the occasional help of Huther, Wiesinger, and Brückner, make all the more palpable.[3]

Justin Martyr, in his 'Dialogue with Trypho,' says, 'We have also understood that the saying, "a day with the Lord is as a thousand years," belongs to this matter' (2 Peter iii. 8).[4] The same passage is cited by Barnabas and Irenaeus.[5] There is no certainty that Justin took the words from 2 Peter iii. 8, for Psalm xc. 4 may have been the original; and the succeeding context does not prove that 2 Peter was the source as Dietlein supposes. Nor does the following chapter of Justin make the alleged proof more probable by using the same word *false teachers*, as is in 2 Peter ii. 1,[6] and in the same connection with the 'false prophets.'

The two passages in Irenaeus, in which the expression 'the day of the Lord is as a thousand years' occurs, are not exactly the same as that in Peter, and may also refer to Psalm xc. 4. The connection of Irenaeus iv. 70,

[1] See Brückner's edition of De Wette's Handbuch on Peter, Jude, and James, p. 140, 3rd ed.

[2] Cap. xv.

[3] Compare his Der Zweite Brief ausgelegt, Einleitung, p. 3, *et seq.*

[4] Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγει.—*Dial. cum Tryph.* § 81.

[5] Adv. Haeres. lib. v. 23, 2, and 28, 3.

[6] ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι.

where the flood, evil angels, and Lot are mentioned, with 2 Peter ii. 4–6 is imaginary, though Dietlein and Schott advocate it.

Lardner quotes the following passage from Athenagoras: 'Of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other prophets, who according to the ecstasy of the thoughts in them, the Divine Spirit moving them, spoke out the things which were working in them,'[1] which is supposed to allude to 2 Peter i. 21. But the allusion is indefinite. The idea expressed was a common one; and the language bears little resemblance to the supposed original. Tertullian and Cyprian never quote the epistle.

Theophilus of Antioch writes: 'Men of God, filled with the Holy Ghost, and becoming prophets, inspired by God himself, and being enlightened, were taught of God' (2 Peter i. 20, 21).[2]

It is possible, but not probable, that these words may be a paraphrase of 2 Peter i. 20, 21. The idea of prophets being moved by the Holy Ghost is not exclusively Petrine. And the phrase 'men of God,' found in Theophilus and 2 Peter, occurs in the second epistle to Timothy.

Another passage in Theophilus, viz. 'The ordination of God is this, His word shining as a lamp in a house confining it, gives light to the whole world under heaven' (2 Peter i. 19),[3] is a doubtful proof of the epistle's existence, because the comparison of God's word to a lamp was common in his day, and is used in the fourth gospel. It is therefore uncertain whether he took it from Peter.

[1] *καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, οἱ κατ' ἔκστασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν κινήσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν.—Legat. pro Christianis*, p. 9.

[2] *οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι πνευματόφοροι πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες καὶ σοφισθέντες ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι.—Ad Autolycum*, lib. ii. p. 87, ed. Colon.

[3] *ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκήματι συνεχομένῳ ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν.—Ibid.* p. 92.

A tract of Melito, bishop of Sardis, published in Syriac by Cureton, purporting to be an oration addressed to Antoninus Caesar, and assigned to A.D. 160 or 161, has the following: 'There shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up, together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up, together with the idols which they have made,' &c.[1] We do not agree with the editor in thinking that 2 Peter iii. 10, 12 is 'certainly alluded to here, and consequently appears to have been admitted by one of the earliest and most learned writers of the Christian Church in the second century, as genuine.'[2] The allusion is probable, nothing more. But the authenticity of the tract is doubtful, because Eusebius is silent respecting it, though he mentions Melito's Apology to Marcus Antoninus Pius. The passage from the 'Paschal Chronicle' adduced by Cureton, to prove that Melito presented an Apology to the emperor five years before the well-known one, is unreliable evidence in its favour. Melito does not attest the authenticity of our epistle.

The extant works of Clemens Alexandrinus contain no reference to our epistle. But Eusebius says: 'In his outlines, to speak briefly, he gives concise explanations of all the canonical Scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted; I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Revelation of Peter, and the epistle to the Hebrews,' &c.[3] The testimony of Cassiodorus respecting Clement is to the same effect: 'They say, therefore, that Clement of Alexandria illustrated the divine writings of the Old and New Testament from

[1] Spicilegium Syriacum, p. 51. [2] Ibid. p. 95.

[3] Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν, πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς· τήν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολήν, κ.τ.λ.—*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14.

beginning to end, in the Greek language.'[1] But Cassiodorus says elsewhere, that Clement gave some illustrations in the Greek language of the canonical epistles, i.e. of the first epistle of Peter, the first and second of John, and the epistle of James;[2] whence Mayerhoff[3] and others infer that Clement commented only on the epistles mentioned. Yet the language of Eusebius and the other statement of Cassiodorus are too clear to be set aside or weakened. The historian had read the outlines of Clement; whereas we gather from Cassiodorus, that he had only an extract from them containing the specified epistles. Photius also speaks of Clement's explications of the catholic epistles.[4] Hence we must believe that Clemens Alexandrinus was acquainted with the second epistle of Peter, and commented on it. What he thought of its authenticity can only be inferred from Cassiodorus, viz. that he rejected it, as he did that of James and the third of John.

Origen refers to the epistle in several of his writings. Thus, in the seventh homily on Joshua he has: 'For Peter speaks aloud through the two trumpets of his epistles.'[5] In the fourth homily on Leviticus: 'And again Peter says, "And ye are made partakers of a divine nature."'[6] In the thirteenth homily on the book of Numbers, speaking of Balaam, 'And as Scripture says in a certain place, "The dumb ass speaking with man's voice reproved the madness of the prophet."'[7]

[1] Ferunt itaque scripturas divinas veteris novique testamenti ab ipso principio usque ad finem, Graeco sermone declarâsse Clementem Alexandrinum.—*De Instit. divin. script.* lib. praef.

[2] De Institut. cap. viii.

[3] Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, p. 207.

[4] Cod. 109.

[5] Petrus enim duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis. In libr. Jesu Nave. Opp. tom. ii. p. 442 ed. de la Rue.

[6] Et iterum Petrus dicit; Consortes, inquit, facti estis divinae naturae.—*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 200.

[7] Et ut ait quodam in loco scriptura: mutum animal humana voce respondens, arguit prophetae dementiam.—*Ibid.* p. 321.

These testimonies of Origen, however, are suspicious, because they are only in Rufinus's Latin translation. It is known that Rufinus took the liberty of adding to Origen's words, especially in the homilies. In his commentary on John, Origen styles Peter's first 'the catholic epistle;' but he does not so name the second. Eusebius has also given an extract, in which the Alexandrian father says, 'Peter has left one epistle universally acknowledged. Perhaps also a second, for it is doubted.'[1] This passage is scarcely consistent with the extract from his seventh homily on Joshua, or with the quotations in which Origen speaks as if he had no doubt of the second epistle's authenticity. If he accepted the letter as Peter's, why did he not use it in support of his doctrines, instead of resorting to inferential arguments? Is it not remarkable that there is no quotation of the epistle as Peter's, in all his Greek works? The dialogue *De recta fide*, current under the name Adamantius, is generally believed not to be his. It is therefore likely that Rufinus, his Latin translator, inserted the phrases in his homilies, which do not agree with Origen's own statement given by Eusebius. This view is confirmed by the fact, that Hilary of Poitiers, who followed Origen closely and adopted his canon, has not used the epistle. We must therefore hold, that though Origen knew our epistle, he did not think it Peter's.

In his extant epistle to Cyprian Firmilian writes: 'Abusing also the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, as if they had delivered this doctrine; though in their epistles they have anathematised heretics, and admonished us to avoid them.'[2] Here the author speaks of epistles, and seems to allude to 2 Peter especially. Yet one cannot help wishing, with Lardner, that we had this letter in its

[1] H. E. vi. 25.

[2] Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint; qui in epistolis suis haereticos execrati sunt, et ut eos evitemus monuerunt.—*In Cypriani oper.* ep. xxv., ed. Paris, 1726.

original language. Cyprian to whom it was addressed, has observed a total silence respecting the epistle of Peter.

It is not in the old Syriac version, nor was it admitted into its MSS. till a late date. The earliest MS. in the British Museum containing it, is dated A.D. 823. It is therefore remarkable that Ephrem received it. Can we trust the text of his Greek works? Is there no cause for supposing that it was conformed here and there to the views of the Greek church? The Syrian church generally rejected the epistle.

There is some likeness to 2 Peter i. 21 in one passage of Hippolytus's writings: 'For the prophets did not speak by their own power, nor did they preach what they wished themselves; but, in the first place, they were truly enlightened by the word; then they were taught by visions respecting future events, and being so influenced they uttered things revealed to them alone by God.'[1] It is very doubtful whether 2 Peter suggested these words. Mayerhoff supposes that they were taken from Philo.

In Methodius, bishop of Tyre, we have the following: 'For the whole world, that it may be purified and renewed, will be burned up with devouring flames.'[2] In another place he writes: 'Wherefore it is necessary that both earth and heaven exist again, after the conflagration of all things and the fervent heat.'[3] It is likely that such passages in the epistle as iii. 6, 7, 12, 13,

[1] *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐφθέγγοντο (οἱ προφῆται) . . . . οὐδὲ ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ἐβούλοντο ταῦτα ἐκήρυττον· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐσοφίζοντο ὀρθῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁραμάτων προεδιδάσκοντο τὰ μέλλοντα καλῶς· εἶθ' οὕτω πεπεισμένοι ἔλεγον ταῦτα, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἦν μόνοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένα.—De Antichristo*, c. 2.

[2] *ἐκπυρωθήσεται γὰρ πρὸς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν καταβάς, ᾧ πᾶς (ἅπας ?) ὁ κόσμος κατακλυζόμενος πυρί.—Apud Epiphan. Haeres.* lxiv. 31.

[3] *διὸ ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὖθις, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἔσεσθαι πάντων, καὶ τὸν βρασμόν.—Ibid.*

floated before the mind of Methodius when writing, but there is no proper citation.

Eusebius writes: 'One epistle of Peter, called his first, is universally received. This the elders of ancient times have quoted in their writings as undoubtedly authentic. But that called his second epistle, we have been informed, has not been received into the canon. Nevertheless, appearing to many useful, it has been carefully studied with the other scriptures.'[1] Elsewhere he states that 2 Peter belonged to the controverted writings.[2] These passages of Eusebius show that he did not believe in the epistle's authenticity. He speaks of it in cautious terms, and puts it among the controverted books. Many before him did not admit its canonical authority, though it was read in public for edification.

At the end of his commentary on the epistle Didymus says: 'It should not be concealed that the present epistle has been considered a forged one, and though it has been published it is not in the canon.'[3] The epistle was reckoned spurious by various persons, among whom was Didymus himself. But the same writer elsewhere cites the epistle as *Petrine* and *catholic*, and speaks of *the first* epistle of Peter, implying a second.[4] The language here attributed to him was probably added to his explanation of the epistle by a later hand.

Jerome says: 'Simon Peter wrote two epistles, which are called catholic; the second of which most persons

[1] Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν καταιέχρηνται συγγράμμασιν· τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.—*H. E.* iii. 3.

[2] Ibid. iii. 25.

[3] Non est igitur ignorandum, praesentem epistolam esse falsatam, quae licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est.—*In Gallandi Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vi. p. 294.

[4] De Trinitate, lib. i. 32, p. 9; ii. 7, p. 182; iii. 3, p. 340, ed. Mingarelli.

deny to be his, on account of its disagreement in style with the first.'[1]

In another place he explains the difference of language and style by the fact that Peter employed a different *interpreter* in the case of the second.[2]

After Jerome, the epistle was received by Rufinus, Augustine, Basil, Gregory, Palladius, Hilary, Ambrose, and others, and was reckoned an essential part of the canon. Chrysostom's testimony is doubtful, since he has but one uncertain quotation from the epistle (ii. 22).[3]

From this review of the patristic evidence we learn, that the first *certain* trace of the epistle is at Alexandria in Clement's works. As far as the history of it can be investigated, it is always found in connection with the other catholic ones. Origen and Eusebius put it among the books not received. The council of Laodicea (A.D. 363), decided in favour of Peter's two epistles. So too Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and probably Epiphanius. But doubts of its authenticity still lingered in the Eastern church, for Gregory of Nazianzum states, that some received *three*, others seven, catholic epistles. Didymus is a prominent exception in the fourth century to the reception of the epistle.

In the Western church there is no express notice of the epistle till Philastrius of Brescia received it into his canon, towards the close of the fourth century. It was also adopted by the third council of Carthage, A.D. 397. Cyprian in the third century speaks of but one epistle of Peter, and the Muratorian canon makes no reference to a second. But Jerome, as we have seen, adopted it, from whose time it was admitted equally with the first.

[1] Scripsit (Petrus) duas epistolas quae catholicae nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam.—*De Script. Eccles.* c. 1.

[2] Epist. cxx. ad Hedib. cap. ii. vol. i. p. 1002, ed. Migne.

[3] Homil. in Joann. 34, vol. viii. p. 197, ed. Migne.

The early Syrian church was adverse to its authenticity. Ephrem admitted the seven catholic epistles, influenced without doubt by the Greek church. The later Syriac version also received the seven. Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it, if we believe Leontius of Byzantium. Junilius also relates that the authenticity of second Peter, second and third John, James and Jude were not admitted in the Syriac school at Nisibis, though he says that the five were received 'by very many.' Cosmas Indicopleustes the Egyptian monk, bears similar testimony to the Syrian canon, stating that it had but three catholic epistles. He himself regards the epistle as doubtful, probably on doctrinal grounds. But his language respecting the catholic letters is vague and incorrect.

How then does external evidence affect the authenticity? Distinguished men like Origen and Eusebius did not receive the letter as Peter's. What induced them to treat it so? Were their reasons critical, doctrinal, or historical? We cannot answer. When Jerome says that its authenticity was denied by *most*, the expression implies that it had many opponents, if not in his own, at least in the preceding time. The external evidence does not prove that Peter wrote the letter, but is rather unfavourable to it. All that it shows is one fact of importance, viz. that the treatise existed before the time of Clemens Alexandrinus; how long, it is impossible to tell. The silence of the early fathers is not a conclusive argument against its authenticity or existence, but it excites doubts.

Internal evidence is stronger against the epistle's authenticity than the external.

1. Jude is partly copied and partly imitated by Peter; which is inconsistent with the position and character of an apostle. The former was not an apostle, but only brother of the apostle James. Is it likely that Peter would follow his letter as he has done? Had Jude

been an apostle, Peter might have adopted his sentiments and words, but it is improbable that he should do so under the circumstances of the case.

The force of this argument is not weakened by asserting that the use made of another's writing appears in the description of the opponents only; that Peter, finding the principal features of errorists given by Jude, adopted them with impulsive readiness; and that he expressly puts himself on an equality with all believers at the beginning of the epistle, while he mentions his apostolic office (2 Peter i. 1). The question is, Would he conscientiously borrow even so much from one not an apostle; and subordinate his individuality so far? Without transferring modern ideas of literary propriety to apostolic times, or denying that the apostles were free from all desire to give prominence to their literary personality, we maintain the improbability of an apostle being so far dependent on one who was not, as to copy ii. 4–iii. 1, and that with alterations which are not usually improvements.

2. There is a visible anxiety on the part of the author to make himself known as the apostle Peter. Thus in i. 1 he uses the double name, Simon Peter. He has a three-fold allusion to his death (i. 13, 14, 15). In i. 16–18 he refers to the transfiguration on the mount, wishing to show that he was present, and therefore none other than Peter. In iii. 1 he identifies himself with the author of the first epistle; and in iii. 15 he wishes to appear as an apostle. A self-prominent air and conscious effort are visible. 'I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things.' 'I think it meet to stir you up,' &c. 'I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease,' &c. 'In both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance.' The language is an echo of Jude's. 'I gave all diligence to write unto you . . . . . it was needful for me to write unto you.' 'I will, therefore, put you in remembrance;'

these expressions are hardly consistent with the conscious authority of an apostle.

An attempt has been made to weaken this argument by bringing the author's references to self into connection with the urgent character of his polemics, and the endeavour to give prominence to the certainty of apostolic tradition in opposition to doubters, so that all passages in which the personality of Peter appears more or less plainly, may be accounted for by one or other of these two considerations. The attempt is far-fetched. Had the apostleship of the author been attacked, we might readily admit the propriety of his solicitude to pass for Peter, as Paul insisted on his apostolic authority when it was assailed by false teachers; but in the absence of official depreciation, his polemics did not need repeated indications of Petrine authorship. And if the certainty of apostolic tradition had to be upheld, was Peter's name not sufficient? Surely the writer, if Peter himself, would have so reckoned it. The fact that he did not deem it sufficient, but appealed also to 'the holy prophets and apostles,' as well as to the 'beloved brother Paul,' militates against the second reason assigned for the writer's carefulness to make himself known, viz. the endeavour to give prominence to the certainty of apostolic tradition. It was enough for Peter to make statements on his own authority, without resorting to Paul's name for corroboration.

3. The allusion to an apostolic commandment (iii. 2), where the writer plainly distinguishes himself from the apostles, argues another writer than Peter. Forgetting that Jude, in saying 'the apostles of our Lord' (17) wrote correctly because he was not himself an apostle, the author borrows the words; but by retaining the pronoun (*of us* or *our*) unconsciously lays aside his assumed character while writing 'the commandment of our apostles of the Lord and Saviour.'

It will be observed that this argument is based on the

correctness of the received reading. Lachmann and Tischendorf, however, on the strength of ancient authorities, present the text differently, putting the second personal pronoun instead of the first (*of you* for *of us*). According to this the meaning is either 'the commandment of your apostles of the Lord and Saviour,' which does not necessarily exclude Peter's authorship; or, 'the commandment of your apostles, of the Lord and Saviour,' i.e. which the Lord and Saviour gave your apostles. If we adopt Lachmann's reading, the construction is awkward and difficult, whichever rendering be adopted. The original of Jude is easy and simple; the copy very different. An apostle would scarcely have expressed himself so awkwardly. It is very improbable that Peter would say, 'your apostles of the Lord and Saviour,' or, 'the commandment of your apostles,' viz. 'the commandment of the Lord and Saviour,' given to your apostles. We do not suppose that he would speak of 'your apostles' at all, when addressing fellow-believers generally; since Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles, and Peter of the Jews. The conversion of the apostles generally into a common inheritance of the faithful, is an unapostolic idea.

4. The citation of Paul's epistles under the title of 'Scriptures,'[1] betrays a post-apostolic age: 'And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction' (iii. 15, 16).

Admitting that a collection of *all* Paul's epistles is not implied here, but only such as were known to the

[1] γραφαί.

writer and his time, not all the apostle had written but all Peter knew, it is obviously meant that the epistles were classed among *the sacred writings*, or that they had then attained to canonical authority; which they had not in the apostolic age. The more important Pauline letters are classed with the other New Testament writings, and both styled *Scriptures*, a term always applied to the Old Testament in the apostolic epistles. The elevation of Paul's epistles to the title and authority of *Scripture* belongs to a post-apostolic time. The attempts of Olshausen,[1] and Windischmann,[2] fail to answer this argument; and even Brückner allows it a little force.

5. The mount of transfiguration is called 'the *holy* mount' (i. 18), which betrays a time when superstitious reverence had sprung up for places in Palestine. The writer states that he was an eye-witness of Christ's majesty on the mountain, in order to confirm the minds of his readers in the certainty of the second advent. Why does he not appeal to the discourses of Jesus himself respecting his future manifestation, as they are recorded in the synoptists? Surely he must have known and heard them. The reason of his silence respecting them appears to be that Christ's coming had not taken place in the way of the synoptic discourses, viz. immediately succeeding the destruction of Jerusalem. Events had not verified the second coming as reported, and therefore the writer prudently omits all reference to the synoptic declarations of Christ. We are thus guided to one who wrote some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, which excludes Peter.

6. The author is conscious of a distinction between canonical and apocryphal works, so that he is averse to quote an apocryphal book or narrative, and omits the book of Enoch, with the dispute between the archangel

[1] On the Second Epistle of Peter, translated in the American Biblical Repository for 1836, p. 357.

[2] Vindiciae Petrinae, etc., p. 38, *et seq.*

Michael and the devil. Compelled to alter, his text is obscure without the comment furnished by Jude (comp. 2 Peter ii. 4, 11, with Jude 14). Brückner's answer is insufficient.

7. There is a reference to doubts about the second coming of Christ occasioned by disappointment of the expectation of its speedy occurrence, which point to a later period than the apostolic. Those who denied or doubted the second advent exclaimed, 'Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.' No men of this sort could have troubled the apostolic age; nor could such doubts have been expressed till after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was supposed to be the immediate prelude of the second coming.

It is incorrect to say with Olshausen, that the heretics do not advance their own sentiment but ridicule the belief of the primitive Christians, and instead of doubting merely scoff; for the context refutes this. After a generation had passed they could say, the fathers are fallen asleep, and all things continue as they were from the beginning.

8. The author speaks of *the day of God* or *of the Lord* (iii. 9, 10, 12), which he considers as near, i.e. *the day of judgment*, in which the heavens and the earth are to be destroyed. The hope of Christ's appearance entertained by the apostles and early Christians, and by which they were often cheered, is not expressed. The writer of the epistle puts the *day of God* in its place. This unapostolic idea points to a late time, excluding the millennium of the Apocalypse, and involving the abandonment of expectations connected with the events ushered in by the destruction of Jerusalem. An approach to this sentiment appears in the epistle to Titus: 'the appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ' (ii. 13); and the same is found in Clement's

second epistle, 'the day of the appearing of God.'[1] The conception and phraseology belong to the second century.

Along with this should be taken the author's statement in the 1st chapter, 'we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we made known unto you the power and *coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ' (verse 16), where he throws himself back into the relation of Peter personally instructing the readers to whom he now writes, and attests the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is implied to be future. The passages are inconsistent, the author apparently forgetting in the 3rd chapter what he had intimated before. In the one case he unconsciously lays aside his personation of Peter; in the other, it is maintained. Some may think perhaps that *God* or *Lord* in connection with day (iii. 9, 10, 12), means Christ; an opinion which would be favoured by i. 1, according to the usual rule of grammar (our God and Saviour Jesus Christ); but it is safer to follow the second verse of the 1st chapter, where God and Jesus are distinguished. Apostolic analogy also favours the separation; though it cannot be fairly adduced in the present case. It is a sufficient refutation of those who cite such passages as iii. 8–10, to show that the persuasion expressed in them is the same as that in 1 Peter iv. 5, and therefore that the writers of the epistles are identical, to state, that the first letter identifies the day of judgment with the Lord's coming, Christ being the judge; whereas the second epistle drops all mention of Christ's coming in iii. 8–10, and speaks of God (not Christ) as judge in the great approaching day.

9. The author assumes that he is writing to the same churches as in the former epistle (iii. 1). But what he says is inconsistent with that assumption, for according

[1] ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Chap. xii.

to the second epistle he must have instructed them personally. The churches addressed in the first epistle could not stand in that relation to the author of the second: 'We *made known unto you* the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ' (i. 16). These words refuse to be explained away by a figure;[1] nor does the verb *we made known* refer to the first epistle, but to personal instruction.

Again, the salutation in the first verse implies that the letter is a general one intended for all Christians. The sixteenth verse of the same chapter contracts the relation between writer and readers. Afterwards the circle is limited to the believers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia (iii. 1), even such as Paul had written to (iii. 15). The last passage states that Paul in all his epistles spoke to them 'of these things,' viz. of the future appearance of Christ. Where did Paul write about that event to the believers in the five provinces mentioned? Not in the epistles to the Galatians and Colossians, which contain no suitable passages respecting Christ's future advent. De Wette suggests that our author may have assumed that every Pauline letter was intended for all Christians, in which case the reference may be to the first Thessalonian epistle (iv. 13–v. 11). The ingenious conjecture presupposes a post-apostolic idea, viz. that the apostolic epistles were intended for all Christians.

10. The word properly translated *heresy* (ii. 1) has not this sense in the New Testament elsewhere. During the apostolic time it meant nothing but *division* or *sect*; its application to doctrine was post-apostolic. The author who appeals elsewhere to *the holy commandment* or *the commandment of the apostles*, can consistently speak of 'heresies of destruction' (ii. 1), attaching an

[1] That called ἀνακοίνωσις or communicatio, in which the speaker or writer includes others with himself.

importance to apostolic doctrine which did not appear till the second century.

11. The difference of diction and style between the first epistle and the present argues a different authorship, disproving the latter's Petrine origin.

The following particulars may be specified.

(*a*). The epistle is distinguished by a poverty of language, which is shown in drawling and tedious repetitions. Thus the preposition *by* [1] with the genitive occurs three times, in i. 3, 4. The word *destruction* [2] is three times in ii. 1–3. The adjective *just* or *righteous* [3] occurs three times in ii. 7, 8. In ii. 12 the same noun *corruption* [4] appears twice, with a cognate verb besides. In iii. 12–14, the same verb *expect* [5] is found three times. Compare also the noun *diligence* and its related verb *to be diligent*,[6] in i. 5, 10, 15. A similar repetition of words is in iii. 10–12. There is also uniformity in the way of attaching verses to preceding ones; for which purpose the pronoun *these* is much used (i. 4, 8, 10, 12; iii. 11, 14, 16).

(*b*). The epistles differ in their use of the words *Lord* and *God*.[7] The former is applied to Christ in the first epistle, except in quotations; in the second it always designates God the Father, except *Christ* or *Saviour* be added. The first epistle has often the name *Christ* by itself as well as with *Jesus*; the second never has it, except with attendant predicates. *God* occurs very often in the first epistle, nearly forty times; in the second, seldom.

The author of the latter epistle is fond of applying the epithet *Saviour*[8] to Jesus; in the first, it is not found. It is impossible to account for this diversity by the differing occasion and object. The different realms of thought in the two epistles will not explain it on the

[1] διά. [2] ἀπώλεια. [3] δίκαιος.
[4] φθορά, φθείρειν. [5] προσδοκᾶν. [6] σπουδή, σπουδάζειν.
[7] Κύριος and Θεός. [8] σωτήρ.

assumption of one writer. It is true that far-fetched attempts have been made to account for the distinction; but they are the fancies of modern theologians transferred to writers who did not think of verbal minutiae. What for instance can be more improbable than to suppose that the writer of the first epistle dropped Christ's lordly titles, and adduced his office (Christ), or his combined person and office (Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus), because he wished to encourage his readers by community of suffering and glorification with their head; while he reminded the readers of the second of Christ's lordship (Lord) and saving power (Saviour), because he had in view warning and caution against rebellion? Is not the assumption refuted by the application of *Lord* to Christ in the first epistle (i. 3; ii. 3, 13); as well as by the usual accompaniment *Jesus Christ* or *Jesus*, to *Lord* and *Saviour* in the second epistle? The supposition is gratuitous.

(*c*). Different words are employed to denote the second coming. The second epistle has one term,[1] (i. 16; iii. 4); the first another.[2]

(*d*). The Christian religion is differently designated. In the first epistle we find *hope* (i. 3; iii. 15),[3] *grace* (i. 10, 13; v. 12),[4] *the truth* (i. 22),[5] *the word* (ii. 8; iii. 1),[6] *the faith* (v. 9),[7] *the gospel of God* (iv. 17).[8] But the second has, *the way* of truth (ii. 2),[9] *the way of righteousness* (ii. 21),[10] *the holy commandment* (ii. 21),[11] *the commandment of the apostles* (iii. 2).[12]

(*e*). The epistles differ in citing from the Old Testament, of which the first makes much more use than the second. In the one we have, *because it is written*,[13] (i. 16), *wherefore it is contained in the Scripture* (ii.6,)[14] as

[1] παρουσία. [2] ἀποκάλυψις. [3] ἐλπίς.
[4] χάρις. [5] ἀλήθεια. [6] λόγος.
[7] πίστις. [8] εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.
[9] ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας. [10] ὁδὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης. [11] ἅγια ἐντολή.
[12] ἐντολὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων. [13] διότι γέγραπται.
[14] διὸ περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ.

introductory formulas, which do not occur in the other. Or, the first epistle weaves the Old Testament expressions into the narrative, as if they were familiar to the author's mind (i. 1, 24, 25; ii. 2–5, 7, 9, 10, 22–25; iii. 9–12, 14, 15; iv. 18), which appears less in the second.

(*f*). There is a peculiar use of the particle *as*[1] in the first epistle, implying quality, character, circumstance (i. 14, 19; ii. 2, 11–14, 16; iii. 7, 16; iv. 10–12, 15, 16, 19; v. 3). In all these it could be dispensed with. In the second epistle it is commonly used for comparison, except in i. 3; iii. 16; (i. 19; ii. 1, 12; iii. 8–10, 16). The word occurs very often in the first epistle; much seldomer in the second, and usually in another way.

(*g*). In the second epistle a subordinate clause is frequently formed by means of the proposition *in* and a substantive, as in i. 4.[2] Compare ii. 3, 7, 10, 13, 18; iii. 1, 3. This peculiarity does not appear in the first epistle, except perhaps in i. 14. Windischmann's analogies are not real ones.

(*h*). The style of the first epistle is fresh, lively, periodic; that of the second, flat, heavy, and cold.

The second epistle has a large number of words peculiar to itself, but the first has also its distinctive terms, though they are comparatively fewer. No reliance can be placed on this argument.

Several critics adduce phrases, words, and ideas common to both, in order to lessen the discrepancy of style. Here Windischmann, Dietlein, Brückner and Schott labour to show as much unity as possible. Thus it is alleged that both epistles refer to ancient prophecy (1 Peter i. 11; 2 Peter i. 20, 21); that both use *virtue* (1 Peter ii. 9; 2 Peter i. 3); that both have the term rendered *putting away*[3] (1 Peter iii. 21; 2 Peter i. 14), which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; but the

[1] ὡς. [2] τῆς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς. [3] ἀπόθεσις.

relations of these words are different in the epistles. The term *truth*[1] is in both (1 Peter i. 22; 2 Peter i.12; ii. 2), which is far from remarkable; and the verb *receive*[2] occurs in them (1 Peter i. 9; v. 4; 2 Peter ii. 13), which is used by Paul. The two adjectives *spotless* and *blameless*[3] are nearly the same in both (1 Peter i. 19; 2 Peter iii. 14); and the verb *to behold* (1 Peter ii. 12; iii. 2) corresponds to the noun *eye-witness* in 2 Peter i. 16.[4] The expression *has ceased from sin* (1 Peter iv.1) is said not to be unlike *that cannot cease from sin* (2 Peter ii. 14).[5] These analogies have nothing remarkable, since the writer of the second epistle must have known the first. The use of the word *own*[6] (1 Peter iii. 5; 2 Peter i. 3; ii. 16; iii. 17), and the omission of the article before certain words (compare 1 Peter ii. 13, with 2 Peter i. 21),[7] are too trifling to have any weight. After a careful sifting of the similarities and differences, the latter are so conspicuous as to excite a strong presumption against identity of authorship. Had a few peculiarities been observable, they might have been satisfactorily explained; but in the one short epistle before us they are numerous. We cannot account for them on the supposition that both letters came from one writer. That task must be left to critics like Schott, who brings out to his own satisfaction a correspondence between the two epistles, in matter, language, and peculiarities, showing that they must have proceeded from Peter, at a year's interval. If he concedes a few differences of style between the letters, as in chapters i. 12–ii., they are attributed to the outbursting of Peter's natural mode of speech, especially in reference to adversaries; whereas in writing to Gentile-christians who had been instructed by Paul, the apostle employs

[1] ἀλήθεια. [2] κομίζειν. [3] ἄσπιλος and ἄμωμος.
[4] ἐποπτεύειν to ἐπόπτης.
[5] πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας, ἀκαταπαύστους ἁμαρτίας. [6] ἴδιος.
[7] Before βασιλεῖ in the one and θελήματι in the other.

a carefully elaborated diction. In other words, his natural temperament is the cause of his writing careless Greek at times.[1]

(*i*). The opponents described in Jude's epistle as existing, are here represented in the spirit of prophecy as about to appear. But while the future tense is used in ii. 1–3, the present is employed in subsequent verses of the same chapter (10–15). Thus the time varies, the persons described being sometimes future, sometimes present. This alternation obscures the description, making it vague and indefinite.

The only rational explanation of the fact is the position of the author, who, while drawing the features of individuals from his own time, was also throwing himself back into the past, and speaking for Peter in the spirit of prophecy. Thus the future is intersected by the present. From a present basis the author as Peter describes a post-apostolic future prophetically.

Analogous examples confirm this view, and corroborate the argument directed against the epistle's authenticity. The epistles to Timothy describe heretics dimly both as future and present—Gnostics existing and to be. (Compare 1 Tim. iv. 1 with vi. 20; 2 Tim. iii. 1 with iii. 8.) Apologists endeavour to explain this fact in ways conservative of the epistle's authenticity; but Brückner himself pronounces them unsatisfactory, without furnishing any lucid solution of the difficulty. The colours in which the author paints his opponents are shifting, because he wrote in the name of Peter, about future deceivers whom he knew to exist in his own day. Hence the indistinctness of time and persons.

These internal considerations go far to disprove the epistle's authenticity, and with the external evidence, are very strong. In the face of them the Petrine origin

[1] Der Zweite Brief Petri u. s. w., p. 187.

cannot be maintained; and therefore the ablest critics generally abandon it. The letter may or may not be worthy of Peter; its general tone and spirit are post-apostolical. That it contains excellent and valuable matter we freely admit. It is also clear, that the author had read both Jude and first Peter; that he possessed some literary independence, and was not without a degree of originality. Yet the breath of apostolic inspiration does not animate the composition; the ideas are not unfrequently obscure though they be new; and the construction of sentences is difficult and awkward.[1] Apostolic simplicity is absent here and there. Thus the aqueous origin of the earth and its future destruction by fire, is a view half mythical, half scientific. The idea of *hastening* the day of judgment i.e. by repentance and holiness, so as to render God's long-suffering unnecessary, is singular (iii. 12). That the things subserving life and godliness are the means of imparting a divine nature to Christians, is neither Pauline nor apostolic (i. 3, 4).

Apologists determined to uphold the Petrine authorship, persist in speaking of the work as a *forgery* if it be not the apostle's; and indulge in language drawn from modern conceptions. Early Christian writers often wrote in the name of others, with good motives. To brand them as forgers is to do them injustice. It was not a profane and daring imposture for one to personate an apostle and compose a letter in his name. Far from it. To do so was considered right and proper. The thing was common; so that contemporaries could not brand as impious what they approved of. While therefore we admit that there was no probable motive for

[1] Compare i. 15 σπουδάσω δὲ καὶ ἑκάστοτε ἔχειν ὑμᾶς μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι; the three introductory clauses in ii. 4–6 without an apodosis, &c.

a forgery, neither personal ambition nor ecclesiastical claims; the author had a motive for writing the letter which satisfied his own mind—one that was approved by fellow-christians of his time. By personating an apostle he hoped to give currency to his exhortations, and make them productive of beneficial results. The means were thought harmless; the end desirable. If these remarks be just, they neutralise the arguments founded on forgers being careful not to overthrow their own fabrics by falling into inconsistencies. The fact that they were not scrupulously solicitous about preserving their assumed identity shows an unconsciousness of wrong-doing in the matter, and the knowledge of an uncritical credulity in the minds of professing Christians generally.

ORIGINAL READERS.

The first verse implies that the epistle was addressed to Christians generally, i.e. that it is encyclical. But iii. 1 shows that the writer had in view the same persons to whom the first was sent, those to whom Paul had written, i.e. the believers in Asia Minor, where the churches were composed mainly of Gentile-christians. It would also appear from i. 16, that the writer had instructed them personally. Other phenomena make the identity of the churches to which the epistles were sent very doubtful. The first contains no trace of the heretical tendency combated in the second; and the second does not allude to the persecutions plainly indicated in the first. The reply that the interval sufficed for the development of heresies and doubts whose germs existed already, is insufficient; as is also the assumption of the speedy cessation of persecution. Thus the identity of the churches to which the epistles are addressed is problematical. The author of the second personating Peter intimates their identity; the situation of the readers,

as far as the epistles themselves show, suggests another conclusion. In any case, the persons addressed in the second are vaguely characterised, being spoken of with reference to the apostolic commandment (i. 1, 16), or to the opponents condemned (i. 12; iii. 17). It is evident that heretical doctrine had not affected them injuriously or extensively, but that they were steadfast and watchful. The circumstances in which the author stood account for the indefiniteness overhanging the churches he addresses. While intimating their identity with those of the first epistle he throws in no distinct notices to impair it and the assumed authorship at the same time; though his own time furnishes general materials which suggest grave doubts of the same circle of readers.

THE ERRORISTS OF THE EPISTLE.

It is difficult to describe the false teachers and vicious persons to whom the epistle refers, because their features are not clearly marked. Their delineation is vague and shifting. Those to whom the 2nd and 3rd chapters refer were probably identical, the false teachers of the one, and the mockers of the other. Their errors were both theoretical and practical. They denied the Lord that bought them, reviled spiritual beings especially Satan, spoke evil of angelic dignities, and railed at what was above their comprehension. They also derided the Christian belief of the second advent. In conduct they were impure, sensual, lewd, carnal, sacrificing the cause of truth to their selfish ends by artful pretences. They had a reckless covetousness. Their eloquence was pompous and empty, imposing on the credulous. They spoke great swelling words of vanity, preaching a false freedom while they themselves were slaves to corruption. It is also intimated that they had once been professors of Christianity but had apostatised; and that

their practices were worse than those they had indulged in before joining the Christians. Who were they? Probably Gnostics, of whom a large class were Antinomian, and indulged in sensuality. All the traits specified cannot be found in any particular sect of the Gnostics, but may be traced in anti-jewish Gnosticism generally. Their conceptions of angels, aeons, and the demiurge, or world-creator, were essentially connected with evil-speaking about dignities. Certain angels were raised to the rank of creators; the authors of the creation they considered rebels against the supreme creator.

The opponents so strongly condemned are sometimes spoken of as future, sometimes as present; and the expressions applied to them are occasionally obscure. The description of them is taken from Jude's, which however, is easier and clearer. Whether the one class is portrayed by both is doubtful. If it be, we cannot agree with the opinion that Jude refers to the incipient stages of a heresy which appears developed in Peter; or that both drew from actual life. Jude's portraiture does not suit the germs of a heretical sect or party. It is life-like and distinct. The character of the persons against whom he inveighs is full-blown. They had proceeded far in vice. If the author of second Peter drew from the life also, why does he borrow the description of his predecessor? We admit that in borrowing he alters it in various ways, showing some independence; but he does not always change for the better. Having two sources at his command, Jude's delineation and historical reality, we should expect a distincter picture of the errorists, no wavering between future and present times, no omissions causing obscurity. Here he is disappointing. Why? Because he was trying by the help of Jude to throw himself back into the apostolic time; and the circumstances in which he lived were available in a very slight degree towards that end. He thought it better to vary the picture after his own ideas, lest it

should betray post-apostolicity by plain allusions to the errorists of his day.

OBJECT AND TIME.

The author's object is obscure, because it is impossible to discover the specific circumstances amid which he wrote. Fearing the influence of false prophets and mockers, he wished to confirm Christians in their apostolic faith, to warn them against heretics, and exhort to preparation for the day of the Lord. He knew that doubters would appear, questioning the second advent. Scoffers were to arise who would ridicule the Christian belief on that point, corrupting the truth preached by apostles. Indeed, they had appeared already. Since therefore the churches were threatened with the pernicious leaven of these heretics, he intended to establish them in the truth.

Schwegler perceives a conciliatory tendency in the epistle, as though it were meant to set forth the final and lasting conciliation between the separate Petrine and Pauline tendencies; for which the critic appeals to i. 16; iii. 15, &c. The evidence fails here. No more appropriate object can be found than that intimated by the author himself in iii. 17, 18.

The time of writing is uncertain, because there are no clear indications of it in the letter itself. Schwegler, after Semler, puts it at the end of the second century, chiefly because of supposed allusions to John xxi. 18 in i. 14; to the gospel of Mark in i. 12–15; and acquaintance with the pastoral epistles;[1] which are doubtful. Mayerhoff dates it about the middle of the second century, but on an uncertain basis. If we knew the date of the so-called second epistle of Clemens Romanus, in which there is an allusion to persons who denied the judgment, as in our letter, we might approach

[1] Das nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. p. 498, *et seq.*

nearer the time when the latter was written; but all is uncertain. Clement combats the Gnostics, who denied both the judgment and the resurrection of the body; in our epistle there is no allusion to the latter. A comparison of second Clement and second Peter suggests the priority of the latter. The apocryphal Clement wrote in a time of violent persecution, when Gnosticism was fully developed, and theoretical speculations had more influence over the conduct than vanity or feelings of false freedom causing moral corruption; the author of our epistle lived when practical infidelity and lawlessness arose chiefly from conceit and inordinate self-esteem. If therefore Hilgenfeld's date of Clement's epistle (A.D. 160–180) be right, we must place the composition of second Peter a little earlier, i.e. about A.D. 170. The acquaintance of Hermas with second Peter, to which Huther alludes, is problematical; nor does any weight attach to the similarity of language between the first epistle of Clement and ours, which the same critic adduces.[1] The way in which Paul and his epistles are spoken of carries the letter beyond the first century, if the use of Jude be not decisive on the point.

Mayerhoff thinks that it was written in Alexandria, but his reasons are insufficient.[2] It is more likely to have been composed in Italy. Though the general impress of the letter shows that the author was a Jewish-christian, his acquaintance with Philo and Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy is scarcely recognisable in the expressions collected by Schwegler.

INTEGRITY.

The integrity of the epistle has been needlessly disturbed by conjectures. Bertholdt's notion that the 2nd chapter has been interpolated, the 1st and 3rd

[1] Handbuch über die Briefe Petri und den Brief Judas, p. 256, ed. 1.
[2] Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften u. s. w., p. 193, *et seq.*

only being authentic, is unsupported by external authority, and improbable. Ullmann's assumption is more plausible, viz. that the 1st chapter only was written by Peter, the remaining two being later. But it is also unfounded, since the 1st chapter contains preparatory references to the persons described in the 2nd and 3rd. 'The 'cunningly devised fables' of the sixteenth verse correspond to the 'feigned words' of the 2nd chapter; while characteristic phrases throughout the epistle show one author. The style of the whole is uniform. Bunsen's guess that the first twelve verses and concluding doxology were written by Peter, the rest by another, is improbable.[1] Lange's guess is no better than the rest; viz. that the last two verses of the 1st chapter, the 2nd chapter, and the first ten verses of the 3rd are spurious.[2]

CONTENTS.

The epistle is best divided into three parts, exclusive of a brief introduction, viz. chapter i. 3–21; ii.; iii.; to which is prefixed i. 1, 2.

The first division contains an admonition to steadfastness and advancement in the knowledge of Christianity, that the readers may obtain ample entrance into the everlasting kingdom of God.

After the inscription and salutation, the writer having said that as the divine power has given Christians all that contributes to life and godliness, by means of the knowledge of God who calls them through glory and might, whereby He has bestowed the greatest promises, that they may be partakers of a divine nature, escaping the prevailing corruption of the world, which consists in sinful lust,—exhorts them to due

[1] Ignatius von Antiochien und seine Zeit, p. 175.
[2] Apostolisches Zeitalter, i. 152.

industry in adding one Christian virtue to another, since, if such things belonged to them abundantly, they would become active and fruitful for the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Whereas the person lacking those graces is blind, forgetting his purification from former sins. Wherefore, subjoins the author, be the more zealous to make your calling and election sure, for if you practise the virtues mentioned you will never fall, but a rich entrance will be given you into the kingdom of the Saviour (i. 3–11).

This exhortation is followed by confirming the doctrine of Christ's future appearance, which the writer does by adducing his own testimony as that of an eye-witness, and by Old Testament prophecy. He considers it his duty to remind them of the truth of the gospel during the short remainder of his life, and endeavours to make them remember it after his decease. He and other apostles were credible preachers of Christ's advent, since they were eye-witnesses of his glorification on the holy mountain; and besides, prophets testified of the same event. We have, he says, the word of prophecy confirmed, to which ye do well to take heed, knowing that no prophecy admits of a solution peculiar to its utterer. It cannot be explained exclusively from the prophet himself, but from its real author (i. 12–21).

The 2nd chapter refers to false teachers who were to appear, describing their godless procedure and certain punishment.

The writer states, that as there existed false prophets in the days of the true, so there should arise false teachers introducing destructive heresies, denying the Lord who redeemed them and bringing on themselves speedy destruction. Many will be seduced by them from the way of truth. They will traffic in Christianity for the glutting of their avarice. But God's vengeance does not sleep. For if He did not spare the sinning angels, but hurled them into the abyss with chains of darkness to

be reserved for punishment—if He did not spare the old world but destroyed the whole human race except Noah and seven others—if He condemned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha, but preserved righteous Lot who had to suffer from the impious conduct of the lawless; if such be the past records of divine justice, God has ways of delivering the pious out of their trials, and reserving the ungodly to the day of judgment; especially those lusting after strange flesh with unclean desires, daring, self-willed persons, who are not afraid to slander angelic dignities, while good angels themselves, who are superior to them, do not venture to bring railing accusations against those dignities. Yet these persons revile what they do not understand, and run headlong to destruction. But they will receive the reward of their iniquity. The passing luxury of the world they count pleasure; spots and blemishes, they riot in their deceptions while they feast with Christians; having sensual eyes that never cease from sin, enticing unstable souls, with a heart practised in covetousness, cursed children. Like Balaam they have left the right way, loving unrighteous gain. As wells without water and clouds driven by tempest, they disappoint. But their end will be the blackness of darkness. Making empty, idle pretensions, they entice by fleshly lusts those who have really escaped from such as are entangled in error, promising freedom while they are slaves to corruption. When they have escaped the polluting influences of the world by the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and are again overcome by those influences, their last state is worse than the first. Better not to know the path of righteousness, than knowing it, to turn again from the holy law of God (ii.).

The third division is directed against scoffers, in opposition to whom it is asserted that the day of judgment will come suddenly. They are represented as saying, 'Where is his promised coming, for since the fathers

fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation?' In opposition to these doubts, he refers to the destruction of the old world by the flood, showing that all things have not continued as they were from the beginning; and declares that one day is the same as a thousand years in the view of the Lord; so that nothing militates against the event from its being delayed (iii. 1–10).

He admonishes his readers to prepare for that solemn day, affirming that the delay is merely an evidence of God's long suffering, as the apostle Paul had written to them; though in the truths revealed about the end of the world and the general judgment, there are inherent difficulties, which the unlearned and unstable distort to their ruin (iii. 11–16).

The epistle concludes with a solemn caution, an exhortation to grow in grace, and a doxology to Christ (iii. 17, 18).

COMMENTARIES.

The best commentaries are those of De Wette, 1865; Huther, 1860; Fronmüller, 1859; Wiesinger, 1856; and Schott, 1863.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DOCTRINAL IDEAS OF PETER'S EPISTLES.

It has been intimated that the general basis or leading ideas of both Petrine epistles is Pauline; not specifically pointed, polemic Paulinism. The same high import is attached to the death of Christ; which is viewed however, in a manner much nearer that of the epistle to the Hebrews. The blood of Jesus has a *purifying* power. Men are redeemed not so much from the guilt and punishment of sin as from itself—from all the sinfulness attaching to the past life. By the resurrection of Christ they have access to God, and

in consequence of baptism appear before Him with a good conscience (1 Peter iii. 18, 21). The Pauline universalism of the epistles is unmistakable.

At the same time, a Jewish-christian character is discernible. The Spirit of Christ is said to have dwelt in the prophets of the Old Testament, whose predictions implied a special knowledge of what was to be fulfilled in Christianity. Christians are the genuine theocratic people, a holy nation, a royal priesthood. Stress is laid on practical Christianity, and Pauline justification is not mentioned. Good works, the virtues that appear in the life, are prominently enjoined. In this respect the first epistle resembles that of James. So also the principle of regeneration is the *word of God*, not Christ or the Spirit. Paul's mystical union of the believer with Christ gives place to the moral efficacy of the divine word, determining the will and making a new creature. Thus a combining tendency appears in it. Paulinism and Jewish-christianity meet. Faith and works together are the key-note, without one-sided prominence of either. Both have their independent value, the one not subordinated to the other. The spirit of the first epistle in particular is catholic, mediating, eclectic. The tendency of the second is the same; the union of Paulinism and Jewish-christianity. The highest theoretical point reached, is 'the knowledge of God and of Jesus the Lord;' with which *virtue* or *love* is joined.

THE BEARING OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE ON THE FORMATION OF A NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

HAVING SURVEYED the New Testament books, some may be disposed to ask us, in what light were they viewed by the earliest Christian authors? Were they received as authoritative, canonical, sacred? Did contemporary Christians and churches cite them as 'Scripture,' or appeal to them by the introductory formula, 'it is written?'

Clement of Rome (between A.D. 100 and 125) quotes different sayings of Jesus, but does not mention written gospels as their source. He refers to the first epistle to the Corinthians as Paul's, and shows his acquaintance with the letter to the Romans; occasional passages reminding one of the latter. He also borrows from the epistle to the Hebrews, without citing it. In speaking of the Old Testament he uses the phrase, 'it is written,'[1] but does not apply it to any part of the New, either gospel or epistle. Canonical authority or inspiration is nowhere attributed to the New Testament or to any portion of it, in Clement's letter to the Corinthians.

The 'Shepherd' of Hermas (about A.D. 130) contains allusions to words of Jesus, some of which appear in the synoptists, especially Matthew; but it has no quotations, and no recognition of divine authority belonging to any book of the New Testament. The writer was unacquainted with the fourth gospel; for though he teaches

[1] *τὸ γεγραμμένον*, c. 3.

the pre-existence of Jesus,[1] he presents the doctrine in an earlier form than John's. Not a trace appears of the use of Paul's writings; nor does the treatise furnish any evidence of the existence of a canon of the New Testament at the beginning of the second century.

Barnabas (about A.D. 110), or rather the writer who personates him, quotes words of Jesus without mentioning the source whence they were taken or applying to it any phrase indicative of canonicity or authority, such as 'Scripture,' or, 'it is written.' One exception, however, is found in the fourth chapter where we read, 'let us give heed, lest we be found, *as it is written*, many are called but few chosen.'[2] Here Matt. xx. 16 seems to be quoted, and invested with canonical authority. The passage is a singular one and excites suspicion. In no other treatise belonging to the first half of the second century is canonicity ascribed to any part of the New Testament. During that period and even after it, the New was not put in the same rank with the Old Testament. Justin Martyr himself, who lived after the author of the 'Shepherd,' does not ascribe divine authority or canonicity to the New Testament. The saying 'many are called, but few chosen,' is evidently taken from Matthew in its present form, but it is also found in substance in the fourth book of Esdras[3] which was considered canonical because of its prophetic character. The writer of the Barnabas epistle may have believed that the sentence was found in the Old Testament canon, even in the form it had in Matthew's gospel, and so prefaced it with 'as it is written.' Such transference of a passage in the New Testament to the Old, is not without examples in

[1] Filius quidam Dei omni creatura antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam.—Lib. iii. Simil. ix. 12.

[2] προσέχομεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, εὑρεθῶμεν.—Cap. 4.

[3] Multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur,' viii. 3.—See *Volkmar's Esdra Propheta*, pp. 105, 289.

Justin and Polycarp. In the present instance, the mistake was slight, because the saying quoted is found in 4th Esdras, which, though not a part of the Old Testament canon, was assumed to be so.

If these observations be correct, it follows that Barnabas attests the existence not the canonicity, of the first gospel. He had no knowledge of the fourth, for in mentioning the casting of lots for Christ's vesture, he never alludes to it as a seamless coat, but is dependent solely on the 21st Psalm.[1] The epistles of Paul are not cited.

Papias, as far as Eusebius's account of him enables us to judge, did not consider the Greek gospel of Matthew to be the apostle's, and therefore assigned to it but a moderate value. As to Mark, there is no evidence to identify the work Papias ascribes to him with the present gospel of Mark. Rather does it appear to have been different. In any case he could not have looked upon what Mark wrote as inspired or canonical, because he speaks of it as *incomplete* and *without order*.[2] He did not use Paul's epistles. He also put the oral tradition of the elders above written books. There is not the least trace of his appealing to the New Testament writings or a part of them, with the phrase, 'it is written,' which was limited in his time to the Old Testament. If Papias knew the fourth gospel, he did not believe it to be a sacred or authoritative book, any more than the works of Matthew and Mark.

Hegesippus (A.D. 160–170), may have known several of the New Testament books. He employed the Gospel of the Hebrews and unwritten tradition. In him we see the long continuance of that aversion to Paul, which the Jewish-christians entertained; for he pronounces the words of 1 Cor. ii. 9 a falsehood against the divine Scrip-

[1] Cap. 6.

[2] ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἐμνημόνευσε, οὐ τάξει.

tures and the Lord who said, 'blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear.[1] Hence he did not recognise Paul's writings as apostolic. But he had great reverence for the primitive apostles especially James. His canon consisted of the Old Testament and the Lord's words. He could not have put any books of the New Testament he knew on a level with the Old Testament, or believed them to be 'holy Scripture.'

Justin Martyr († A.D. 160 or 166) often quotes the words of Jesus from the 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' whose authors, according to him, were the apostles and their companions.[2] These Memoirs are sometimes styled 'gospels,' whence we conclude that the first three canonical gospels were meant. It is also probable, that he used the Gospel of the Hebrews. He does not apply to the Memoirs the title of 'Scripture' or 'sacred Scripture;' nor does he use them as divine but human records, trustworthy sources of the sayings of Christ. They formed no part of his canon, which consisted of the Old Testament and the words of Jesus. As far as we can judge, he did not know the three gospels in connection with the names under which they were subsequently received into the canon; but had learnt from tradition that they proceeded from apostles and their companions.

It has been already shown, that the fourth gospel was not a part of the 'Memoirs,' and that he was ignorant of its existence. His doctrinal tendency, and the application of the Logos-doctrine to the synoptic Jesus, prove that he was unacquainted with the development of that doctrine in the fourth gospel.

A number of passages are collected by Otto bearing some resemblance to Pauline ones,[3] from which it has

[1] See a fragment from Stephen Gobar in Photius's Bibliotheca, cod. 232, p. 238, ed. Bekker.

[2] See Dialog. c. 103.

[3] See in his Index Locorum, pp. 629, 630, tom. ii. ed. 1843.

been inferred that the apostle's letters moulded Justin's ideas and language. The coincidences are neither striking nor conclusive. It is still doubtful whether Justin made any use of Paul's writings. If he did, he attributed no special authority or value to them. But he seems to have purposely neglected them, as the Jewish-christians generally did. His style of thought was certainly unpauline.

The only book of the New Testament he mentions by name is the Apocalypse, which he assigns to an apostle.

Polycarp (between A.D. 147 and 167), in his epistle to the Philippians quotes words of Jesus found in Matt. v. 3, 10; vi. 12–14; xxvi. 41; Luke vi. 36–38. But he does not mention the sources of his citations, nor does he call them 'Scripture.' There is nothing from the fourth gospel, which is unaccountable if he knew it as the work of his teacher John. On the contrary, he defended the observance of the paschal supper by John's example, taking a view which is contrary to that of the fourth gospel. If therefore he knew the gospel, he could not have considered it a work of the apostle's.

To show that Polycarp was acquainted with the fourth gospel, an attempt *has been made* to prove his use of the first epistle of John. As the authorship of the latter is assumed to coincide with that of the former, Polycarp's attestation of the gospel necessarily follows. The passage supposed to be taken from 1 John is in the seventh chapter, where we read, 'for whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, he is antichrist,' words resembling 1 John iv. 2, 3: 'Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. And this is that antichrist,' &c. We admit that the coincidence though not verbal, shows the dependence of the one on the other; contrary to Scholten, who argues that the

two are independent.[1] What then? Does it follow that because Polycarp employed the first epistle of John, he had the fourth gospel too? By no means, for the two works did not proceed from the same author, and were written at different times; the letter before the gospel.

Paul is named twice as the author of the letter to the Philippians,[2] and there are reminiscences of his other writings; but there is no evidence that Polycarp assigned to them canonical authority, or put them on a par with the Old Testament.

An exception to the last statement has been founded on the twelfth chapter: 'I trust that ye are well exercised in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you: but at present it is not granted unto me to practise what is said in these Scriptures, 'Be angry and sin not;' and again, 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'[3] Hence the inference that Polycarp includes the epistle to the Ephesians among the sacred Scriptures. But two considerations weaken the argument: first, that the words are only in the Latin translation, and may have proceeded from him who made it, without having their representatives in Greek; secondly, that Polycarp may have fallen into a mistake and supposed the words in Ephes. iv. 26 to be in the Old Testament, especially as the first passage quoted is in Psalm iv. 5. In any case, the phrase 'as it is said in these Scriptures' is too precarious to be relied on as a proof that Polycarp calls the letter to the Ephesians *Scripture*, and puts it on a level with the Old Testament.

The Ignatian epistles are not so early that any im-

[1] Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T. u. s. w. p. 45, *et seq.*

[2] Chaps. 3 and 11.

[3] Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, Irascimini et nolite peccare, et, Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.

portance can belong to them in evidence of an established, authoritative canon of the New Testament during the first half of the second century. They could not have been written before A.D. 170. Traces of the use of the synoptists especially Matthew, appear in them. But there is no evidence that the author attributed divine authority to the written gospels he employed. Whether Ignatius had the fourth gospel or not, is disputed; Hilgenfeld and Volkmar supposing that he had; Scholten that he had not. We agree with the former, and quote two places which seem to justify the opinion. In the epistle to the Romans, Ignatius says: 'I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God, . . . and the drink of God, which I desire, is his blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.'[1] Probably this language is an echo of ideas and expressions in the 6th chapter of the gospel (comp. verses 41, 48, 51, 54). Again: 'For though some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet the spirit is not deceived, being from God. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and reproves the secrets.'[2] Here John iii. 8 seems the original.

In his letter to the Ephesians he speaks of Paul's *epistle* to them according to one interpretation; or of Paul's *epistles* generally, according to another. There is also an obvious allusion to 1 Cor. i. 28; and probably reminiscences of passages in other Pauline letters. But he gives no hint of their canonicity.

The Clementine homilies (A.D. 150–170), frequently cite the saying of Jesus without mentioning the source or sources they were taken from. We cannot doubt,

[1] Ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . . καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος, καὶ ἀέννανος ζωή.—*Ad Romanos*, c. 7.

[2] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μέ τινες ἠθέλησαν πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὄν.. οἶδεν γάρ, πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.—*Ad Philadelph.* c. 7.

however, that the author used the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with others probably, such as that of Peter. It has been already assumed that the fourth gospel was also employed; the story of the man born blind being alluded to in the 19th chapter. Yet it is remarkable that a Jewish-christian writer, whose entire mode of thinking was so different from the genius of John's gospel, should have taken it as one of his acknowledged documents; so that Scholten's reasoning is plausible against the idea of any acquaintance with it.[1] In any case, there is no recognition of the canonicity either of the synoptists or the fourth gospel, by the Clementine homilist. To the apostle Paul he shows an aversion like that of the Jewish-christians generally.

Basilides (A.D. 125) one of the earliest Gnostics, is confidently adduced to show that he was acquainted with the canonical gospels. But the proof of his acquaintance with the synoptists and the fourth gospel breaks down, because it rests on the subject of the verb '*he* says;'[2] which subject is indefinite, and cannot be fixed upon Basilides without involving a number of improbabilities. After saying in the preceding context, 'Let us see therefore how openly Basilides and Isidore and all their troop calumniate,' &c. &c., the expression *he says* may refer to Isidore or one of Basilides's disciples as well as to himself. Hippolytus writes vaguely, and does not separate the sentiments properly belonging to the head of a sect from those of the disciples.[3]

In the treatise of Hippolytus, Basilides certainly seems to refer to Rom. viii. 22 with the formula 'as it is written;'[4] 1 Cor. ii. 13, is also cited as 'the Scripture;' and 2 Cor. xii. 4 has before it, 'as it is written.'[5] But are these conclusive in favour of Basilides's actual quo-

[1] Die ältesten Zeugnisse u. s. w., p. 59, *et seq.*
[2] φησί.
[3] See Hippolytus's Philosophumena, lib. vii. 20.
[4] Ibid. lib. vi. 25.
[5] Ibid. lib. vi. 26.

tation of the Pauline epistles? They are not, because the person citing the epistles as *Scripture* is concealed in the indefinite 'he says,' being not Basilides, but one of his sect. If Justin, Polycarp, and Ignatius did not cite the gospels and epistles as *Scripture*, Basilides could not have done so. One of his school, living towards the end of the second century, did it.

It is also alleged that Valentinus (A.D. 140) made use of the canonical gospels, including the fourth. None of the fathers that speak of him, neither Irenaeus nor Tertullian, nor Origen, prove his acquaintance with them. The Philosophumena of Hippolytus cite John x. 8 as a word to which Valentinus appealed to show the derivation of the prophets and the law from the demiurge;[1] but the verb 'he says' refers to one of his school, not to himself. Hippolytus treats of *the sect* of Valentinus from vi. 21 onwards, and uses the verb *he says* loosely of one or more adherents of the sect, not of the head. Even if he were acquainted with the fourth gospel, it could never be shown that he assigned it to John the apostle. But he seems to have had a gospel of his own, 'the gospel of truth.'[2]

Marcion's canon (A.D. 140) is the earliest on record. It consisted of Paul's epistles (ten), with Luke's gospel altered. The other books were rejected. However reprehensible such conduct may seem to us, it should be considered in the light of Marcion's own time. There was no settled canon to bind him. Many gospels and other books called after apostles were in circulation. The evangelists themselves acted much in the same way as he did with the third gospel; they altered, abridged, omitted the matter of existing documents in making them their own works. Faith in the divine authority or inspiration of current books had not yet arisen.

[1] Hippolytus's Philosophumena, lib. vi. 35.

[2] Called 'Veritatis Evangelium,' by Irenaeus.—*Haeres.* iii. 11, 9, p. 891, ed. Migne.

After the New Testament writings became authoritative and 'Scripture,' later heretics availed themselves of interpretation alone in the propagation of their peculiar views; when Marcion lived this was not their expedient, and therefore he felt himself justified in altering or rejecting what he thought unsuitable. If he be censured for his conduct so should his orthodox contemporaries, who preferred oral tradition to written records or put documents afterwards excluded from the canon such as Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, and the epistle of Barnabas, on the same level with the canonical ones. Marcion's list consisted of what he believed to be the genuine Christian books. He did not consider Paul's epistles inspired or of divine authority. His accusers, such as Tertullian in whose time the canonicity of the New Testament books was accepted, might well blame him from their point of view; though he acted harmlessly and even with good intentions, in endeavouring to purify Christianity from Judaic corruptions.

The author of the epistle to Diognetus, who lived about A.D. 160, shows his acquaintance with the gospels and Paul's epistles. According to him, all Christians possess the Logos in their hearts, as well as the apostles; and all spiritual gifts belonging to individual members of the Christian Church proceed from the Logos. The apostles' instructions are on the same level with other writings, except that they were drawn from the primitive source and taught others. The author's Logos-doctrine is taken from the fourth gospel. But the tenor of his reasoning shows that he did not ascribe this gospel to an apostle, since he employs the gnosis it contains as a means of understanding the apostles. His object is to recommend the pure gnosis which it sets forth as confirmatory of the truth of the gospels. If so, he could not have looked upon the fourth as the work of an apostle.

The earliest intimation of a collection of epistles being termed *Scripture* is in 2 Peter iii. 15, where Paul's are so named.

Athenagoras (A.D. 177) had a rigid opinion of the inspiration of the Old Testament, declaring everything evangelical truth which could be proved out of it as correct. He refers to the words of Jesus contained in the synoptists, with or without *he says*; and appeals to the Pauline teaching but once in his treatise on the resurrection.[1] No trace of a belief in the canonical authority of the New Testament writings appears in either of his works. It is even doubtful whether he was acquainted with the fourth gospel; for the passages relating to the Word do not appear to have been borrowed from it. It is remarkable, that while he urges the diligent perusal of the Old Testament, he never alludes to the reading of the Christian books. In his 'Embassy for Christians' all his proofs are taken from the Old Testament.

Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 180), who wrote three books to Autolycus, is the first in whom a belief in the New Testament as *sacred* and *inspired* appears. He adduces Rom. xiii. 7, 8; 1 Tim. ii. 2, as the *word of God.*[2] He also says that the evangelical voice (Matt. v. 28) speaks with greater power than the Old Testament respecting chastity.[3]

In the latter part of the second century it was natural that the Church should be anxious about the mode of conserving and transmitting evangelical doctrine. Oral tradition had gradually lost in definiteness, its insufficiency becoming more apparent in proportion to the distance of the source. Haziness gathered round it. The Old Testament writings were settled and secure. Their canonical authority was universally recognised, so

[1] Cap. xvi. p. 202, ed. Dechair.

[2] *θεῖος λόγος.*—Lib. iii. 14, p. 322, ed Wolfius.

[3] *ἡ δὲ εὐαγγέλιος φωνὴ ἐπιτατικώτερον διδάσκει, κ.τ λ.—Ibid.* iii. 12.

that an appeal to them was easy. The Christian writings were differently circumstanced. Though many such widely separated in contents and value from one another were current, the spiritual consciousness of the Church had neither classified nor appraised them. The chief cause of selection arose from the early heretics, who introduced oriental speculations into Christianity. When these parties appealed to sayings and writings hitherto accepted in the Church, it was felt that the extant Christian literature must be sifted, if heretical allegations were to be resisted successfully. As the idea of a catholic Church became clearer and more important, the fixing of catholic tradition in opposition to the Gnostics seemed to be the more necessary. The Jewish-christians did not feel the need of a proper canon, and were less solicitous about it. Gentile-christians were impressed with this idea of its necessity in proportion to the increase and prominence of heretics in the second century. Besides, why should the Jews have their divine writings, and none of the Christian productions be thought worthy of similar distinction? No doubt existed about the pure doctrine of Christ being announced by apostles; hence their writings alone were held to contain that doctrine. Apostolicity was the first criterion of selection.

The separation between the Christian writings was not made at once or by concert. It took place in different localities imperceptibly and gradually. Hence differences appeared at first, with respect to the selection. The opinion that the sifted list was inspired and of canonical authority soon became general in the catholic Church; though there was no exact agreement about its actual contents. The felt need of a selection did not involve uniformity. In determining what were apostolic writings, from which pure doctrine might be drawn and which therefore received the highest rank, some diversity of opinion appeared.

The following propositions are deducible from an impartial survey of the history of the first two centuries.

1. Before A.D. 170, no book of the New Testament was termed *Scripture*, or believed to be divine and inspired. On the contrary, even after that date, different books were believed to be human compositions having none other authority than their contents warranted.

2. No certain trace of the existence of the fourth gospel can be found till after Justin Martyr, i.e. till after the middle of the second century. That gospel came into use, in the first instance, among the later Gnostics, the followers of Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion, who do not seem to have ascribed it to John. Towards the end of the second century, and not till then, it was assigned to the apostle by fathers of the catholic Church and by canons. On what ground this opinion rested cannot be ascertained. One thing is clear—that the fathers who believed in its Johannine authorship neither assert nor hint that they relied on historical tradition for their opinion.

3. The canonical gospels of Matthew and Mark cannot be identified with the *logia* of Matthew and the things *said and done* by Jesus, which Mark wrote, mentioned by Papias. That writer does not himself identify them. It is also noteworthy, that he puts oral tradition above written documents.

4. The writings of Paul were either not used, or little regarded, by the prominent ecclesiastical writers of the first half of the second century. After A.D. 150 they began to be valued.

5. The canon, as far as it relates to the four gospels, was not settled at the close of the first century, as Tischendorf supposes. Not till the latter half of the second century did the present gospels assume a canonical position, superseding other works of a similar character and receiving a divine authority.

6. No canon of the New Testament, i.e. no collection of New Testament literature like the present one, supposed to possess divine authority, existed before A.D. 200.[1]

[1] Scholten, Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T., pp. 179, 180.

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